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REPORTS ON SOYUZ-81 WARSAW PACT EXERCISES

LD271712 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1521 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Berlin, 27 Mar (ADN)--The command staff exercises Soyuz-81 gave new evidence on Friday of the high fighting strength and combat readiness of the allied forces toward the defense of socialist achievements. In the headquarters and command posts and in the exercise area the common political and military-theoretical views of the commanders and staff officers, as well as the regular exchange of military specialists and experiences among the fraternal forces, proved their success.

At meetings the army members confirmed their determination to further deepen the class and military alliance and to put every enemy of socialism in his place.

Staff officers of the fraternal armies, a large proportion of whom have graduated from Soviet military academies, ensured again today an exemplary organization of the combat and the leadership of the troops. In accordance with the given position on land, on water and in the air, they prepared calculations and reports necessary for the final decisions of commanders, and planned actions and cooperation among the token troops [darstellungs-truppen]. Generals and officers of the Soviet Army, the Polish Army, the Czechoslovak People's Army, and the GDR's National People's Army worked together closely in this.

On the exercise areas motorized infantry, tank troops, artillery men and sappers, as well as signals units and members of the support services, proved their ability. Solid political and combat training--which has been strived for and achieved among the members of the GDR's National People's Army in the socialist competition "battle station 10th party congress--has paid off in the number of first shots on target, the improvement of norm times, the cohesion of the units and the readiness for action of the combat equipment.

Missile troops of the National People's Army's Air Force/Air Defense, who have close relations with the Soviet "neighboring regiment," demonstrated that they have mastered the highly modern weapons systems entrusted to them by the working people. This is at the same time a guarantee for the reliable protection of what has been achieved in the creation of the socialist society.

Engineer's Role

LD272002 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Major Marek Matysek reportage from Soyuz-81 Exercise Area]

[Text] The engineers are here, preparing for action. I am talking to Second Lieutenant Henryk [name indistinct]. The bridges accompanying [word indistinct] also must be efficiently deployed. Those which will go ahead of the columns of troops will provide crossings over narrow obstacles, ditches filled with water or dry, and then there are others who will ensure the passage of the rear columns.

[Unidentified voice, presumably the second lieutenant] That part of the exercise which involves the engineering subunits is intended to test engineering equipment as well as the skills of driver-mechanics. This is the period which tests the support for combined-arms subunits, involving the use of bridges accompanying the troops and the provision of engineering support for combined-arms building.

[Matysek] Your subunit has no pontoon bridges. Therefore, the difficulty is all the greater. We have watched action on small water obstacles and on broad ditches, when engineers were building pontoon bridges. It was not easy. It had to be done at a very fast pace, the time alloted was not always sufficient, and yet it was necessary to hurry and to carry out the task properly.

[Second lieutenant] Indeed, and this is why I would like to stress again the high standard of skill of driver-mechanics who are performing their tasks in difficult tactical conditions and in difficult terrain, and doing it well. This is a real examination of the skills of these men, a test of the knowledge they acquired in barracks, at the training ground near the barracks, in the depots of fighting vehicles. at the sites where these vehicles were repaired. This is, today, a moment of truth when everybody, from the tank crews to those of us who are directing this--shall we say, venture, for lack of a better expression--is facing an examination which involves the sum total of what we have learned so far and what we imparted to our subordinates. Thus the examination involves everybody from the private to the general.

PAP Report

LD272116 Warsaw PAP in English 2028 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Mar (PAP)--Soyuz-81, the joint military exercises of allied armies taking place in Czechoslovakia, GDR, Poland and the USSR--in accord with the plans of the United Command of the Warsaw Treaty states' armed forces--are the highest form of cooperation between the socialist states' friendly armies.

The exercises consist in a review of the achievements of individual armies. The most valuable experiences are then included in the training programmes of all the allied forces. This is why an effective, sure and complex system of reaching full combat readiness in the time required by modern warfare has been worked out.

The Soyuz-81 exercises which are, at the same time a political manifestation of the unity of the socialist states, proved that the commands, staffs and soldiers of the Warsaw Treaty armed forces fulfill well their tasks of ensuring the security of the socialist community and of peace.

Developments in Exercises

LD281452 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1430 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Berlin, 28 Mar (ADN)--Today's course of the Soyuz-81 command staff exercise war marked by the great military skill of the allied armed forces. The complicated situation on land, in the air and at sea was mastered by members of the Soviet Army, the Polish Army, the Czechoslovak and the GDR National People's Army. This reflects the constantly improving ability of the staffs and troops of the fraternal armies to operate collectively and cooperate closely in joint operations.

The dynamic development of the situation made the utmost demands both on commanders and staff, and on the token forces. During the combat operations, the support-services made sure of the supplies of material and technical equipment for the troops. Token forces like motorized riflemen and gunners who have taken part in the operations since the beginning of the exercise were withdrawn from the engagement after having successfully completed their tasks. They returned to their garrisons and were replaced by new units.

Kulikov Visits Warships

LD282228 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] To mark the anniversary of the joint Polish-Soviet operation which resulted in the liberation of Gdansk on 28 March 1945 Viktor Kulikov, a participant in the battles for the liberation of the tricity, a commander of the armored units of the second Belorussian front, honorary citizen of Gdansk, commander in chief of the allied armed forces of Warsaw Treaty member states, and marshal of the Soviet Union, paid a visit to Polish and Soviet warships taking part in the Soyuz-81 exercises.

He thanked the crews of the warships in a soldierly fashion for their exemplary performance and for the excellent results which are being obtained during the allied exercises.

29 Mar Combat Exercise

LD291300 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1129 GMT 29 Mar 81

["'Soyuz-81' Combat Readiness: Exemplary Combat Readiness by the Brothers-in-Arms during the 'Soyuz-81' Command and Staff Exercise"--ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 29 Mar (ADN)--The "Soyuz-81" command and staff exercise by the allied armed forces on Sunday was marked by maneuvers and operations in annihilating an assumed enemy.

The commanders and staffs here displayed their operational-tactical abilities in organizing combat while utilizing and employing all types of modern weapons and military equipment. What again was particularly impressive was the staffs' ability to lead reliably the participating troops of the land, air and naval forces of the four fraternal armies involved in complicated and rapidly changing situations.

The comrades in arms of the Soviet Army, the Polish Army and the GDR National People's Army demonstrated courage, determination and military mastery in the destruction of landed airborne troops of the assumed enemy in an exercise area in Poland. The precise outcome reflected the exactness of the necessary calculations for the final decision as well as the careful organization of the combined efforts by all the units taking part.

The motorized infantry of the National People's Army also confirmed their solid training results in night combat using live ammunition in the south of the GDR.

In the base areas of the three fraternal Baltic fleets the comrades in arms at the headquarters and aboard the fighting ships prepared for new actions in defense of the sea borders.

'Night Attack'

LD292100 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1354 GMT 29 Mar 81

["Motorized Infantry Night Attack--a test for People's Army Motorized Infantry During 'Soyuz 81,' by ADN Special Reporter Manfred Otto"--ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 29 Mar (ADN)--At a troop training area in the GDR, offensive operations at the weekend were a test of military ability, mastery of military equipment and physical endurance for National People's Army [NVA] motorized infantry.

It began with a move into the start area. The soldiers camouflaged their combat vehicles and dug slit trenches. Then the combat collective received from Capt Wolfgang Messe the order to act as an advance unit. In the first few kilometers the motorized infantry, supported by troopers and pioneers, had to prove their worth in overcoming dragon's teeth antitank obstacles and wire barriers as well as wide antitank ditches.

Sappers blew passages through obstacles, the "adversary" used incendiary devices and made full demands on the NVA members. Bridge-building equipment crew members then took measurements. The two halves of the bridge were laid like a scissors exactly over a 20 meter wide antitank ditch. A little later the commanders of the tanks and armored personnel carriers directed the combat vehicles over the narrow bridge.

Hours later, at an observation post, Commander Lt Col Volker Bednara organized further joint action by the motorized infantry with the tank and artillery units. Times for the employment of forces and equipment were specified, new information and (?tactical) signs were entered on the commander's operational charts. A new test was at hand--a night attack with field firing.

One of the last preparations was munitioning. The shells were handed out among the tank turrets. In just 15 minutes every crew member moved some 1.5 tons of ammunition. Like the troopers, the motorized infantry also munitioned their armored personnel carriers. Well into the night the radioed order "advance" came for the combat vehicle commanders. Tanks and dismounted motorized infantry broke through the enemy defense. Flares falling by parachute illuminated the targets and control points in the darkness. Balls of fire flashed from the tank muzzles [word indistinct].

Tracer fire from machineguns and machine pistols made a bizarre "pattern" above the battlefield. By keeping precisely to the direction of travel, defining the target, determining the distance and shooting accurately, each person in the combat collectives thereby helped to contribute to the success of one of the most complicated types of combat, night combat.

Tactically prudent action, accurate firing and precise coordination was described by Lt Col Bednara as the basis for the unit's "good marks" in these "hours of truth." None of the soldiers, noncommissioned officers, officer cadets and officers in the tanks and armored vehicles or on the guns could even think of sleep, since on Sunday morning utmost attention and concentration was called for in technical checks and preparation for the move. Once again, the commanders organized the combat, the attack into the heart of the "adversary's" defense. All forces were needed to carry it out.

As far as the motorized infantry, tank soldiers, artillery and communications soldiers and pioneers were concerned, this (?tactical) exercise in "Soyuz 81" was at the same time the concluding high-point of the first half of the 1980-81 training year, a confirmation of diverse efforts in soldierly competition.

Sea-Landing

LD292138 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1735 GMT 29 Mar 81

["Sea-Landing Unit Destroys 'Enemy' Airborne Troops; Comrades-in-arms Endorse Fighting Alliance, by ADN Special Correspondent Klaus Rebuschat--ADN heading]

[Text] Berlin, 29 Mar (ADN)--Military mastery on the part of the comrades-in-arms in "Soyuz 81" was demonstrated this time at an exercise area in the People's Republic of Poland. A sea-landing unit, consisting of Soviet and Polish marines as well as motorized infantry of the GDR National People's Army (NVA), received the order to destroy the airborne troops of a supposed enemy. Staff officers of the three allied armies briefed the commanders. On the basis of this, Captain Erhard Beyer explained the task to the members of his unit in brief, concise words. The command to mount followed, and a few seconds later the armored vehicles moved to the start area. From this position, the attack was performed at a fast rate side by side with comrades-in-arms of the two fraternal armies.

Directing the exercise this Sunday was a Polish commander. Common views on military theory guaranteed precise coordination during the combat actions. Meanwhile, the gun layers operating the truttet weapons in the cross-country armored vehicle opened fire on "enemy" bases while on the move. The motorized infantry and marines then received the order to "dismount." Utilizing every form of cover in the hilly landscape they broke through the enemy's defense in an extended line, throwing hand grenades and firing their machine pistols, light machineguns and antitank rifles. Soon afterwards, the comrades-in arms fulfilled their combat task. The members of the three allied armies yet again proved--and this was confirmed by the initial analysis--their fighting power and combat readiness.

With this exercise, Lt Col Guenter Stein explained later, the units involved were continuing their joint actions. "Since our sea-landing during the command and staff exercise, comradeship-in-arms for our soldiers has been linked with a wide variety of personal experiences. Of particular importance were the numerous joint tests on the combat field and in work on the equipment."

Lance Sergeant Michael Taube stressed the pride of the NVA members in the fact that their unit which is represented in this demonstration of the unshakeable class alliance and comradeship-in-arms. "We have demonstrated here that the motorized infantry of the NVA can, in coordination with the members of the fraternal armies, fulfill any task. We will continue to regard this as our primary class duty."

This determination was also repeatedly demonstrated by the soldiers of the three armies at meetings between the units and in discussions in small groups. For motorized infantryman Armin Drube, such experiences prompted him to request acceptance as a candidtate member in the ranks of the SED because the past few days "once again confirmed the rightness of socialist action in a complicated situation."

FOREIGN DELEGATIONS ARRIVE FOR 12TH BCP CONGRESS

AU291632 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] At the invitation of BCP Central Committee the following delegations arrived today in Sofia to take part in the 12th BCP Congress: A delegation on the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania led by (Telui Sanquilla), member of the party's National Executive Committee. (Ali Abdullah Shiput), member of the party National Executive Committee is also a delegation member; a delegation of the progressive party of the Cypriot working people (AKEL), led by Yiannis Katsouridis, member of Akel Central Committee Political Bureau. Nikos Katsouridhis, member of the party's Central Cultural Bureau is also a member of the delegation; a delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa led by Alfred Nzo, secretary of the party. Joshua Jele. member of the party National Executive Committee and chairman of the party international relations department, is also a member of the delegation; a delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam led by Army Gen Chu Huy Man, member of the party Central Committee Politburo and head of the main political administration of the Vietnamese People's Army. Tran Huu Du, candidate member of the Central Committee and minister of light industry; Nguyen Van Trong. deputy head of the Central Committee department of the international relations; and Le Quang Hiep, SRV ambassador to Bulgaria, are also members of the delegation.

More Arrivals

AU291933 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] At the invitation of the BCP Central Committee the following delegation arrived today in Sofia to take part in the 12th BCP Congress: a delegation of the Japanese Communist Party led by (Masako Imashika), member of the party Central Executive Committee and head of the department of work with women; a delegation of the Congolese Labor Party led by Florent Tsiba, member of the party Central Committee Politburo head of the Central Committee Department of Press, Propaganda and Agitation and minister of information, posts and telecommunications; a delegation of the Communist Party of El Salvador led by Jorge Shafik Handal, secretary general of the party Central Committee; a delegation of the Communist Party of Iraq led by Nadisha Albara'i, member of the party Central Committee; a delegation of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party of the Syrian Arab Republic, led by Muhammad Zuhayar Mashariqah, assistant secretary general of the regional party leadership; a delegation of the Communist Party of Jordan led by (Ishaq al-Habib). member of the party Central Committee politburo; a delegation of the Syrian Communist Party led by Zahayr Ab al-Hamak. member of the party Central Committee politburo; a delegation of the party-state of Guinea led by Galema Guilabogui, member of the party Central Committee and minister of pre-university education; a delegation of the U.S. Communist Party, led by Sherlin Mitchel, member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee; a delegation of the Communist Party of Netherlands, led by Frederik Meis, member of the party Central Committee politburo and; a delegation of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verge, led by Tiago Aleluia Lopes. member of the party Executive Committee.

The delegations were greeted by Comrades Ognyan Doynov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Mladenov. Tsola Dragoycheva, Andrey Lukanov, Drazha Vulcheva. Krustyu Trichkov, Dimitur Stanishev, Misho Mishev and responsible workers of the party's central organs.

More Delegations

AU282152 [Editorial Report] In connection with the 12th BCP Congress which is to open in Sofia 31 March, foreign delegations have begun arriving in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian news media--BTA in English and Sofia radio newscasts--reported on 28 March on the first arrivals of the delegates to the congress.

According to BTA in English at 0847 GMT, "The delegation of the Communist Party of Sri Lanka is led by Mr Sarath Muthetuwegama, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee. "The delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is led by Mr Saleh Ziray, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the party and member of the Revolutionary Council of Afghanistan. The delegation of the Communist Party of Canada is represented by Mrs Elisabeth Rowley, member of the CC Political Committee. The delegation of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party is led by Mr Phoumi Vongvichit, member of the CC Politburo, deputy prime minister and minister of education, sport and religion of Laos. The Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand is represented by Mr George Jackson, party national secretary. The delegation of the Communist Party of Venezuela is led by Mr Pedro Ortega Diaz, member of the Politburo and CC secretary. The delegation of the Communist Party of Brazil is led by Mr Givaldo Pereria de Siqueira, member of the CC Political Commission. The delegation of the Communist Party of Colombia is led by Mr Alvaro Velasquez, member of the CC Secretariat."

At 1000 GMT, Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian reported that a delegation of the Australian Socialist Party represented by (Trevor McKandy), the party's Executive Committee member, and a delegation of the Israeli Communist Party led by (Eliyahu Sola), Israeli Communist Party Central Committee Politburo member, accompanied by (Moshe Diser), the party's Central Committee member, arrived in Sofia today.

At 1430 GMT, Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian added to earlier reports, noting the arrival of a delegation of the Sandinista National Liberation Front led by Henry Ruiz, the front's national leadership member; Monica Baltudando, secretary of the front on organizational matters; and Lucho Jimenez, general secretary of the trade unions center. The 1430 GMT cast also announced the arrival of a KNUFNS delegation led by Chea Sim, deputy chairman of KNUFNS, deputy chairman of the National Revolutionary Front of Kampuchea and minister of internal affairs; and a delegation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] led by Nyamyn Jagbaral, MPRP Politburo member and secretary of the Central Committee, and [name indistinct], deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Mongolian side of the Bulgarian-Mongolian inter-governmental commission for economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

The 2000 GMT and last Sofia Domestic Service cast of the day reported the arrival of a delegation of the United Party of National Independence of Zambia led by (Ruben Camanga), party Central Committee member and chairman of the Political and Juridicial Committee at the party's Central Committee; of the South African Communist Party represented by Thabo Mbeki, party secretary general; of the Bangladesh Communist Party represented by Abdus Salam, party secretary general, and of the Cuban Communist Party led by Guillermo Garcia Frias, party Central Committee Politburo member, vice president of the State Council and of the Council of Ministers and minister of transportation.

STANISHEV COMMENTS ON PARTY'S LEADING ROLE

AU292015 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 29 Mar 81

["D. Stanishev on the Vanguard Role of Communists in the Struggle for Peace"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 29 Mar (BTA)--Mr Dimitur Stanishev, BCP CC secretary, emphasizes in the new issue of the NOVO VREME magazine--the theoretical organ of the CC of the BCP: "The movement for averting a new world war, for stopping the arms race, is acquiring a broad democratic character. It is led by the communists--the vanguard of the working class, the steadiest fighters for defending the workers' interests."

He emphasizes that the USSR is the focus of the struggle for peace and disarmament, the main factor for its successful development, and the stronghold of the champions of peace and socialism in the world.

According to the author, the USSR is the main economic, political, ideological and military force of real socialism. The foreign policy of the socialist countries, which is the driving force of the progressive changes in the present-day international relations, is consistently defending the interests of world socialism, of the international communist and workers' movement, of the national liberation movement.

Mr Dimitur Stanishev emphasizes that the foreign political activity of the BCP and Bulgaria is entirely aimed at the translation into life of the peace programme adopted at the 24th CPSU Congress and further developed by the 25th and the 26th CPSU Congresses. Linking their fate with the fate of the USSR, of the socialist community, the Bulgarian communists, the Bulgarian people, are taking their share of the historical responsibility for the fate of mankind.

The author stresses: "A guarantee for the future preserving of peace is the further uniting of the socialist community countries, their unity and unity of action on the international arena. This is namely why the main assaults by imperialism aided by the hegemonistic course of the Chinese leadership are focused on weakening the cohesion, on undermining the unity of the socialist countries, on breaking them off the leading force of the socialist community--the USSR."

He says that a great contribution to developing and consolidating detente in international relations is being made by the peace-loving and democratic political and social forces, the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries.

Dwelling on the meeting of the European communist and workers' parties held in April 1980 in Paris, Mr Dimitur Stanishev points out that regardless of the varying stands on some issues, the participants in the meeting have been unanimous on the principally important matter of peace and detente. All the communist and workers' parties, including those which did not attend the meeting for different reasons, take more or less common stands on the matters of peace and disarmament. The author notes that the danger of a new world war has compelled the socialist and social democratic parties which are influential among the majority of the workers in the capitalist countries, to alter their stands on the matters of peace and disarmament.

The article emphasizes: "The positive evolution of the foreign political concepts of international social democracy in favour of peace, detente and disarmament, objectively creates premises for contacts, dialogue and cooperation of the communists with the socialists and social democrats in the name of resuming the policy of detente and in searching for ways and means for cutting down the armaments in Europe."

It is also pointed out in the article that here, too, appear the features typical of social democracy--the discrepancy and lack of consistency. Particularly if in power, the deeds of the socialist and social democratic parties greatly differ from the [words indistinct], sometimes even from their own decisions.

Mr Dimitur Stanishev emphasizes: "A number of social democrats participating in the West European governments, take decisions under the pressure of the USA and NATO, which threaten the peace and increase the arms race. The readiness of the communists for joint actions with the socialist and social democratic parties in defending peace and for disarmament does not mean that the ideological differences between them have been levelled out. The ideological struggle on the remaining issues still remains."

He points out that in the conditions of peace and peaceful coexistence favourable conditions have been created for successful struggle of the nations for a democratic rearrangement and social progress in the capitalist countries, for the national liberation struggle, for gaining economic independence and for social progress in the developing countries.

The author adds: "A major factor in the world policy, which is playing a still greater role in the struggle for peace, in curing the imperialist acts of aggression, is the non-aligned countries coincide objectively with the interests of the forces fighting against imperialism, for detente, for peace, against the arms competition, and first of all with those of the socialist community countries led by the USSR." He notes that imperialism is trying to undermine the process of detente through intensifying the arms race under the exorbitantly raised propaganda noise over an alleged "Soviet military threat."

Mr Dimitur Stanishev emphasizes: "In this historical moment so important for the fate of peace in the world, a particularly negative role is being played by the policy of the present Chinese leadership. Beijing's hegemonistic policy, its actions on the world arena and in the different countries are aimed at the weakening and disuniting the front of the peace-loving forces, they impede the struggle for peaceful co-existence and detente, facilitate the aggressive actions of imperialism against real socialism and the national liberation movements".

WORKING COLLECTIVES AWARDED FOR THEIR SUCCESSES

AU272040 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Summary] "A decision of the BCP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the trade unions Central Council and of the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee has been given for publication. This decision expresses cordial gratitude to the worker collectives and to all working people in Bulgaria for their heroic efforts to fulfill the most fruitful 5-year plan in the history of socialist building in Bulgaria which is a further evidence of the wisdom and strength of the BCP general April line.

"The BCP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the trade unions Central Council, and the Dimitrov Komsomol Central Committee highly value the great successes achieved in the nationwide competition campaign as well as their concrete contribution to the fulfillment of the plan on socioeconomic development in the Seventh 5-Year Plan [words indistinct] the banner of labor glory to the following ministries, okrugs, organizations and worker collectives."

Some 617 worker collectives have been presented with the Bulgarian People's Republic Order, the Red Banner of Labor Order and the Order of Labor--Golden Order.

LUKANOV RECEIVES SOVIET GOSPLAN'S SLYUNKOV

AU272010 Sofia BTA in English 1830 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Sofia, 27 Mar (BTA)--Today Mr Andrey Lukanov, candidate-member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Mr Nikolay Slyunkov, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Soviet Union.

A number of issues were discussed at the talks related to the deepening of cooperation and integration in mechanical engineering, especially in heavy mechanical engineering. It was stressed that the currently built here big plants will create favourable conditions for a substantial expansion of Bulgaro-Soviet cooperation in this industry.

STATE COUNCIL AWARDS HERO APPELLATION TO WORKER

AU241855 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 24 Mar 81

[Text] The State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria has presented the Hero of Socialist Labor title to Comrade Nacho Petrov Papazov for his active participation in the struggle against fascism and capitalism, as well as in building socialism, in connection with his 60th birthday.

POLISH PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM ASSESSED

Sojka: Report Summary

LD291754 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Report by Frantisek Sojka, permanent correspondent in Warsaw]

[Text] The Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum started in Warsaw today. On the session's agenda is the current situation in the country and preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress. The Politburo report was delivered by Politburo member and party Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski.

The report says, among other things, that local conflicts are again being stirred up; these conflicts are connected with each other, and the abuse of strikes has already become a method resulting in vast damage done to the national economy. The report also deals with the present tense situation, with attacks on various representatives and security bodies. The report notes that irresponsible actions of some Solidairity leaders and the printing of anticommunist publications continues. The report points out that Solidarity has been infiltrated by rightwing forces endeavoring to bring the country to counterrevolution, that Solidarity is less and less interested in trade union affairs, but increasingly interested in political affairs.

The report further notes that the events in Bydgoszcz were preceded by the occupation of state buildings in other parts of Poland. Since the conflict in Bydgoszcz, however, Solidarity has unleashed the propaganda machinery and presented ultimatums. Despite the fact that its negotiations with the government have continued there was a warning strike which resulted in damage to the national economy.

The threat of the Tuesday general strike, which is supposed to last indefinitely, is still imminent. The Politburo report delivered at the ninth session today underlines that this is not just pressure on the government but an open struggle against the party, the government and socialism--a struggle for power.

As regards the situation in the party, the report points out the response received from many party organizations demanding the introduction of order and calm. The report emphasizes that the most important tasks are ideological and action unity and the struggle against the enemies of the socialist system, and that the right to express one's own views does not amount to the right to factious activity. The report points out some manifestations of non-party attitudes and the fact that the stimulus for this activity frequently comes from outside. There are also opportunist attitudes within the party, leading to alliance with rightwing forces. Some party organizations only criticize but do nothing to improve the existing situation.

The Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum is currently continuing its discussion. The situation in the country continues to be tense. Solidarity continues with its preparations for the Tuesday general strike: It is printing leaflets with instructions and organizing food supplies, the work of liaison contacts and its own transportation. Solidarity has issued a directive saying that all persons who are assumed to reject the strikes should be removed from enterprises. In some places, even lists of people who must be isolated have been published.

Particularly active in strike preparations are members of the antisocialist grouping KOR [Workers Defense Committee] who are strengthening their positions in Solidarity. The leaders of Walesa's trade unions make no secret of their intention that the moment the strikes start they themselves will take over the management of enterprises.

'Threshold of New Conflicts'

LD301018 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0500 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] A short while ago we phoned Stefan Simak, our editor in Warsaw, asking him for an overall assessment of the results of the PZPR Central Committee Plenum. There is no doubt that it has great significance for the further course of events in the neighboring country.

[Begin Simak recording] The contents and the significance of its deliberations were determined by the domestic political situation. After Friday's strike, which spelled losses of Z3.25 billion for the already paralyzed national economy, Polish society is yet again on the threshold of new conflicts. As the report of the Politburo notes, the general strike prepared by Solidarity, which is to last indefinitely, can be characterized as open war against the party, the government and socialism and as a move to prepare for a fight for power.

The report notes that Poland has no reserves which, during further strikes, would enable it to overcome the threat of economic catastrophe.

Those taking part in the debate at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum tried to find a way out of the current situation, stressing the need for a thorough analysis of the causes of the general social crisis. Many delegates advocated calling the Ninth Extraordinary Party Congress as soon as possible and stressed the need to purify the party and to increase its activities and ensure their coherence.

The plenum did not accept the resignations of Tadeusz Grabski and Stefan Olszowski, Politburo members and secretaries of the Central Committee, and tasked Politburo and Secretariat members of the Central Committee with visiting primary organizations of the party at enterprises immediately after the end of the session. [end recording]

COMMENTATORS ON POLISH DEVELOPMENTS

'Provocative New Strikes'

AU271357 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Mar 81 p 7

["CTK, ZR"--signed Warsaw dispatch: "A Hazardous Decision; The Leaders of So-Called Solidarity, at Variance With the Government's Call for Moratorium, Are Preparing Provocative New Strikes for Friday and Tuesday"]

[Text] Warsaw, 24 March--The leaders of so-called Solidarity, at the close of their 2-day meeting held in Bydgoszcz, adopted the hazardous decision to violate anew the moratorium on strikes and to declare a 2-hour national so-called warning strike for this Friday and a general strike for next Tuesday. A total of 35 out of the 41 members of the leadership voted in favor of this proposal by Lech Walesa, the leader of the so-called independent trade unions.

The pretext for the provocative new decision was found by "Solidarity" in last Thursday's events in Bydgoszcz, where followers of Walesa's trade unions seized the building of the voivodship People's Council and were subsequently ejected from it by legal means.

"Solidarity's" adviser Jacek Kuron, who took part in the Bydgoszcz session, called the imminent strikes a "bloodless national uprising." According to press agencies, the general strike is designed to become "the final victory" for Walesa's organization, which changed from a trade union to a political organization long ago.

For several days now tension has been increasing in Poland. It is being artificially escalated through the dissemination of various publications, instructions and leaflets containing unscrupulous attacks on state bodies, the security corps and the information media. All kinds of appeals inciting the citizens' emotions are being proclaimed through loudspeakers that have appeared at the most frequented places of almost all cities and in front of buildings in which "Solidarity" has its headquarters.

According to Polish television, extraordinarily long lines began to form in front of shops in Gdansk. The Gdansk voivoda therefore issued an order introducing a rationing system for all types of foodstuffs as of Tuesday. In the area of Gdansk, Gdynia and Sopot there is a shortage of bread and the price of potatoes has skyrocketed. In the port of Gdansk there are virtually no ships.

The surging wave of unrest has a distinctly political character. That is best attested to by the pressure of the Katowice "Solidarity" on party members to respond to the PZPR Central Committee Politburo's appeal to communists not to take part in the strike either by leaving the party or leaving "Solidarity." This is no longer merely a manifestation of lack of prudence, or emotions, but a well thought-out, deliberate attempt to orient developments toward confrontation.

The "Solidarity" leadership that is meeting in Bydgoszcz has decided to move the Inter-Factory Founding Committees from city buildings to large factories. The headquarters of the "Mazowsze Solidarity" has already been transferred to the Ursus tractor factory near Warsaw on the basis of that decision. The founding committees are changing their names to strike committees, as was the case at the peak of last year's crisis.

'Rapidly Increasing Tension'

LD272018 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Report by Warsaw correspondent Frantisek Sojka]

[Text] The hooting of sirens at 0800 today signaled the beginning of the nationwide 4-hour warning strike called by Walesa's trade unions under the pretext of the events in Bydgoszcz and in support of their antisocialist and antipopular demands. Polish state flags were displayed at enterprises involved in the strike and people wearing red and white armbands stood in front of factory gates and in front of the entrances of striking institutions. There was no public transport in most towns. In many places in Warsaw one may see posters with demagogic Solidarity slogans. Warsaw University buildings are also covered with posters. The local leaders of Walesa's trade unions in various regions have transferred their headquarters to large enterprises where food supplies have also been concentrated.

When I asked several strikers why they interrupted work and whether the strikes, which are worsening the present difficult political and economic situation, are a suitable means of negotiation, I got a stock answer: The government must feel the strength of Solidarity and fulfill its demands. But there were also those who just shrugged their shoulders and pointed out that if the majority of collectives are on strike, they must also strike. One should add that Solidarity activists are very indiscriminate in their use of pressure to gain support for strikes from workers.

Nervousness and tension continue to dominate throughout the country. The public is impatiently awaiting the results of the renewed talks between the representatives of the government and of Solidarity which began in Warsaw this afternoon. The talks once again are being conducted under the threat of strikes, that is, under abnormal conditions. Strong pressure is constantly being put on the government. Experts will, no doubt, soon calculate the economic losses caused by the strike. But the long term political impact of current events, which are the main cause of the rapidly increasing tension of the entire society, is difficult to calculate.

PRAGUE RADIO SCORES SOLIDARITY ACTIONS, SUPPORTERS

Polish Press Warnings

LD271730 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] The provocative 4-hour so-called warning strike, called by the Polish so-called Independent Trade Union Solidarity, ended at noon today.

This (?nonsensical) action is an evident part of the Walesa Solidarity's hazardous plan to enforce its political demands. The situation in the country is extremely tense. Talks between government and Solidarity representatives are to continue later today.

The Polish daily TRYBUNA LUDU today comments on the grave situation in the country, saying that the Solidarity trade union has again used the most dangerous weapon, a strike, which harms the interests of the working people in Poland. The ZYCIE WARSZAWY newspaper says that negotiations between the government and Lech Walesa's Solidarity have been (?carried) under the pressure of strikes. The paper demands that extremist forces must be prevented from influencing vital decisions. Those who believe that they can risk a social conflict against the will of society are bound to lose, says ZYCIE WARSZAWY. Another newspaper, DZIENNIK LUDOWY, publishes appeals from farmers and members of the United People's Party for Solidarity to halt all strikes. These appeals are not a mere request, but a warning to the forces which have caused the current tension in the country, says DZIENNIK LUDOWY.

Walesa Remarks at 'Ursus'

LD271108 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1700 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Poland: The counterrevolutionary elements, which have infiltrated Walesa's trade unions, continue to escalate the tension in Poland. Today, they organized a 4-hour strike which, in many areas, paralyzed enterprises, factories and transport. The normal pace of life of millions of people was disturbed. According to Polish radio reports, work came to a halt at the Gdansk shipyards, and the loading and unloading of ships was disrupted. On strike in Warsaw were such enterprises as the metallurgical enterprise Warszawa, the vehicle works, and the Ursus tractor works. In many enterprises, strikers blocked the entrances and workshops and made it virtually impossible for the management of enterprises to act. The actions of Walesa's trade unions have a purely political character. It is typical that the action was organized within the framework of political pressure on the government, with the aim of forcing it to accept the demands of an anti-socialist and antipopular nature. The leaders of Walesa's trade unions today yet again proved to themselves to be political hecklers who are dragging the country into a difficult social political crisis. In Ursus enterprise, Walesa alleged today that today's strike would prove the strength and organization of Walesa's trade unions. In many places they displayed posters advertising the statewide strike of warning. In an attempt to evoke a distorted picture of the nature of events, Walesa's trade unions permitted access to their activities only to the reporters of Western papers and U.S. television, who are accredited in Poland. Prior to the strike, Polish Television broadcast the appeals of Walesa's trade unions, and the announcers read out the relevant instructions for the strike.

In these disturbed days, the Polish public is asking the question of where the anti-socialist forces are leading the country, and what disorganization of production and supplies to the population, chaos and anarchy, will mean for the economy and for every Polish family.

'Unacceptable Demands'

LD282252 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2100 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] The fourth round of negotiations between the Council of Ministers' Committee for trade union issues, headed by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and the delegation of the leadership of the so-called independent trade unions, led by Lech Walesa, took place in Warsaw today.

After the discussion of the governmental commission's report on the events in Bydgoszcz, the negotiations were adjourned.

The fifth meeting of the governmental commission and the delegation of Walesa's trade unions is to take place on 30 March.

At the negotiation, Walesa's trade unions again deliberately put forward unacceptable demands of a political character and were threatening a general strike next Tuesday, should their demands not be fulfilled.

Their hazardous proceeding increases the tension in the country disproportionately, and is aimed against the basic interests of Poland.

Polish Journalists' Support

LD292134 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2000 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] The Presidium of the Association of Polish Journalists has adopted a clearly anti-socialist resolution on the situation in the country at its session in Warsaw.

For example, the document shamelessly supports the attempts of the extremist elements of Walesa's trade unions to whip up antisocialist sentiments aimed at inciting Polish citizens and rank and file trade union members to hostile actions against the leadership both of the PZPR and of the government of General Jaruzelski. The document gives its unqualified support to the current so-called awakened social activity without exposing its damaging tendencies which endanger the very foundations of socialist Poland. In addition, the document also adopts the position recently assumed by Walesa's trade unions of an open fight against the legal state power.

The entire contents of the resolution adopted by the Presidium of the Association of Polish Journalists plays into the hands of the extremist forces in Walesa's trade unions, whose hazardous decisions ignore and actually aggravate the situation which Polish party and state bodies have tried strenuously to resolve.

SOLIDARITY PREPARATIONS FOR 31 MARCH STRIKE SCORED

LD291826 Prague CTK in English 1625 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Mar (CETEKA)--The four-day strike on Friday caused economic damage estimated at 2,500 million zlotys.

The situation is still extremely tense, and the leaders of the so-called Committee for Social and Political Self-Defense (KDR) who penetrated "Solidarity" are making intensive preparations for a general strike on March 31, and obstruct negotiations with the government on averting the strike.

The character of the planned strike and the preparations for it are evident from instructions carried in the daily DZIENNIK BALTYCKI, and disseminated by 'Solidarity' all over the country. The instructions say that all enterprises and offices are to be occupied, because the strike has to be of "occupation character", and entry and exit will be possible only with the consent of "Solidarity" representatives.

The nature of these instructions, unlawfully issued by "Solidarity" leaders, makes it clear that this organization is switching to open methods of struggle with the legal state power, the government and the Polish United Workers Party. The provocative instructions and actions of the enemies of the socialist system prove that the KOR leaders who assumed control in "Solidarity" are taking steps without regard to the legal authorities of the Polish Republic.

Local branches of "Solidarity" are doing everything to discredit security bodies and the militia, and to intimidate their members. Subversive elements erected roadblocks on some roads and one section of the motorway E-7 in Kielec Region.

"Solidarity" leaders Modzelweski and Labuda made insulting attacks on the United Workers Party and people's power in the Wroclaw railway car factory.

U.S. 'INTERFERENCE' IN POLISH EVENTS CRITICIZED

Kirkland's Praise

AU271411 Prague PRACE in Czech 26 Mar 81 p 2

["(MS)"-signed commentary: "Tell Me Who Your Friend Is..."]

[Text] The American AFL-CIO trade union center, which is generally known for its anti-communist stands, continues to speak in favor of increased support for the Polish "Solidarity" association. The AFL-CIO's chairman, Kirkland, expressly stresses that this does not in the least change the AFL-CIO's anticommunist stand; quite the contrary. Kirkland adds that an American trade union delegation has been sent to Poland. It was one of the first to arrive there, and it talked to 41 leading officials of "Solidarity." According to what the delegation said after returning to the United States, it was "impressed" in these talks by the "hatred toward the Soviet Union and contempt for the Communist Party."

The AFL-CIO's leading representatives were so greatly enthused by this attitude that they decided to recommend receiving Solidarity into the Western International Metal Workers Trade Union, the orientation of which suits Kirkland for reasons that are not too different from those stressed by the delegation.

Support of Antisocialists

LD281808 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 28 Mar 81

["Commentary of the Week" by Prague Radio Editor Vaclav Kvasnicka]

[Text] The situation in Poland has gravely deteriorated, edging towards a confrontation point. It has sharpened, not only as a result of the proclaimed warning strikes and the scheduled general strike, but because Lech Walesa's trade unions have launched a counter-attack against the very foundations of the social system in the country. The Solidarity trade unions have begun making absolutely ultimative claims toward the government, threatening that if the Jaruzelski government does not comply with these demands a situation will arise, as Walesa himself declared, in which Solidarity will be forced to take over power in the country. In addition, Walesa's trade unions have started disseminating leaflets depicting gallows and those who are to hang on them. One of such brochures says, 90 days of Jaruzelski's government, 90 gallows for 90 prominent members of the Polish United Workers' Party.

In this connection, Polish Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski said that within Solidarity there are certain elements who call for a holy war, but these people forget that such a war would turn against them, their families and millions of Poles. Mr Rakowski provided evidence that the recent events in Bydgoszcz are not a cause, but rather a pretext for heightening tension in Poland. But regardless of these events, the Solidarity trade unions have been escalating the conflict situation in many other parts of Poland to feed tension in the country and to prevent the Polish Government from overcoming chaos and from tackling urgent problems facing Poland.

The current crisis in Poland has thus turned into a open struggle for the future fate of that country, for its bonds of alliance. We are currently witnessing an onslaught by Polish counterrevolutionaries. Typically enough, the antisocialist forces in Poland are not operating in isolation but in collusion with influential circles in the West, which provide considerable encouragement and assistance. The American CIA, for instance, is reported to have drafted a plan of destabilizing operations against Poland, including the extreme variant, a civil war.

The American ruling circles have indicated that if such a blood bath does occur in Poland, resulting in thousands of casualties, destruction and chaos, and the antisocialist forces are eventually defeated, this will be beneficial for the West in any case since socialism will be discredited in the eyes of the world public. Some Western circles are then ready to set aside human lives and foment a bloodbath in Poland in order to achieve mean power interests of imperialism.

Other interesting facts accompany the whole situation. For instance, recently Georgetown University, in Washington, DC, organized a seminar on the events in Poland, attended by officials of the American State Department, the CIA and (?selected) journalists and scientists. Its participants noted that it is necessary to activate the ideological subversive centers operating against Poland. Apart from that attempts have been growing to stir up the activity of Polish emigres hostile to the socialist system in Poland, and to involve them in the fight against socialism. At the same time, material assistance to Walesa's trade unions has been building up.

In such a situation, the main thing at stake is the fate of socialism in Poland, but developments around Poland are also marked by efforts to erode the positions of socialism throughout the world, to bring the situation of that country to a confrontation which would enable the most reactionary forces in the world, notably American imperialism, to block the process of detente and the balance on the brink of a hot war. Seen in that light, the antisocialist forces in Poland, operating in collusion with Western circles hostile to socialism, are playing not only with the fate of millions of Poles but are also gravely jeopardizing the security and peace of other nations and Europe.

'The Main Support'

LD281014 Prague International Service in Czech and Slovak 0800 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] The 4-hour so-called warning strike staged by the Walesa trade unions has aggravated tension in Poland. This provocative step is a gross violation of the 90-day moratorium on strikes proclaimed by Jaruzelski's government. At the same time it represents an open challenge to confrontation with all subsequent consequences. The leaders of the Walesa trade unions have made up their minds to play a final, hazardous game. They want, at any price, to obtain what they want, by means of continuous pressure on the Polish Government, to exact fresh concessions so as to finally discredit it completely and gradually rid it of power, or to pass to an open trial of strength in an open clash of power even at the price of a nationwide tragedy, at the price of a terrible bloodbath.

In either case, the counterrevolutionary forces in Solidarity proceed in coordination with influential ruling circles in the West. This is evident in the statement of U.S. President Reagan at a meeting of the National Security Council in Washington, where he warned the USSR against any intervention. Leaving aside the hypocrisy of Reagan---this representative of American big capital, who at present almost adopts the role of advocate of Polish workers--one cannot fail to see that it is American circles above all which grossly interfere in the internal affairs of Poland and incite there tension and chaos, and which are the main support of antisocialist forces in Poland.

However, it is necessary to see that these forces, whose leadership has been assumed by the Walesa trade unions, and which operate in close cooperation with hostile circles in the West, are playing not only with the fate of millions of Poles but also are seriously endangering the security and calm of other nations in Europe.

U.S. Statement Cited

LD281710 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] The U.S. Senate approved a resolution on Friday expressing grave concern over the fate of Poland.

U.S. interference in Poland's internal affairs was highlighted by a passage of the resolution which said that any kind of intervention against Polish workers would seriously harm East-West relations.

Reagan and NATO Attitudes

LD291058 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 29 Mar 81

["Review of the Week" by Editor Jiri Cedrovsky]

[Excerpt] Washington has no cause to complain about its West German partners regarding events in Poland. The tension has increased in the Polish People's Republic this week. Under the pretext of events in Bygoszcz, the leadership of Walesa's trade unions, supported by anti-socialist forces, began an open confrontation with the people's power in Poland. The so-called 4-hour warning strike on 27 March, the threats of a general strike on 31 March, ultimatums, and the continuously increasing activity of anti-communists confirm that counterrevolutionary forces are striving for a change of political power in Poland. They were and are supported by ideologically subversive centers in the West as well as by the highest representatives of capitalist countries.

At the 26 March meeting of the U.S. National Security Council President Reagan expressed serious concern about possible developments in the Polish People's Republic, and he said any intervention against Polish workers would seriously harm relations between East and West.

A meeting of 15 countries of the aggressive Atlantic Treaty took place in Brussels in the same spirit of impertinent interference in the internal affairs of the country.

It is not only this interference. There is something else in Reagan's attitude and the attitude of NATO, which aggravates the situation in Poland and in Europe. Washington, like Bonn or London, speculates on the possibility that a counterrevolutionary change will take place in the country, and, in case it does not succeed, they have an alternative in reserve: Discredit socialism in the eyes of their own general public on the basis of the Polish events.

Moscow's PRAVDA said this week that the export of a counterrevolution had been elevated to the level of a national policy by the United States. In the case of Poland, it is a hidden effort, mediated by antisocialist elements in the country.

MINISTER DZUR CHAIRS PRAGUE COMMANDERS SESSION

AU271349 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Mar 81 p 2

[CTK report in the "By Teletype, By Mail, By Telephone..." column]

[Text] A meeting of commanders, chaired by army Gen Martin Dzur, CSSR minister of national defense, was held in Prague on Tuesday, under the slogan "by consistently fulfilling the tasks of the national defense minister's order on preparing the Czechoslovak People's Army troops in the 1980-81 training year for the 16th CPCZ Congress." The session was attended by Eugen Turzo, head of the CPCZ Central Committee State Administration Department, and by representatives of the allied armed forces of the Warsaw Pact member countries.

COMPANIES DICTATE U.S. STAND AT LOS CONFERENCE

AU271300 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Mar 81 p 7

[Dusan Rovensky commentary in the "Notes" column: "Hitting the Nail on the Head"]

[Text] When a few weeks ago the American delegation at the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea blocked--on Washington's instructions--the negotiations on concluding the respective international treaty, the conference got into a very complicated situation.

Why that happened has now been disclosed by the West German newspaper SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG. It wrote: "Washington's blocking of the new international treaty on the Law of the Sea exposes the power situation in Reagan's administration... large concerns such as Lockheed Aircraft, U.S. Steel and Kennecott Copper have furnished the first evidence of their newly gained political strength...."

The commentator hit the nail on the head. The thwarting of a new international treaty on the Law of the Sea shows who has the determinent influence on White House policy. The conference convened for its 10th round and was expected to successfully conclude its negotiations, which conern fully two-thirds of the earth's surface. A treaty containing 320 clauses has been drafted, with 163 countries taking part in the process. One of its objectives was to enable access to the developing countries for utilizing the immense wealth hidden under the ocean surface.

The treaty has been foiled however. American concerns counted more in the White House than did the international community. SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG commented that "a group of American mining companies wants to have the exclusive right to extract metals from the sea-bed instead of sharing this wealth, as "mankind's common heritage,' with less fortunate nations."

What remains to be added? Perhaps only one thing, that Washington's decision has shown the true balance of power. It exposed what a great supporter of American concerns the ruling hierarchy is and how international negotiations on matters concerning all of mankind are being subordinated to their interests.

STROUGAL HOLDS TALKS WITH MOZAMBIQUE'S VELOSO

LD271854 Prague CTK in English 1759 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Prague, 27 Mar (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal received here today Major-General Jacinto Soares Veloso, Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) Permanent Political Committee member and security minister, who is on a visit to Czechoslovakia. They appreciated the development of all-round cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the People's Republic of Mozambique and stressed the interest of the two governments in its further development. They stated that there are preconditions for the broadening of relations in political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural spheres. Lubomir Strougal assured the representative of Mozambique that Czechoslovkia fully sympathizes with Mozambique people in the struggle for political, social and economic development.

HUSAK CHAIRS CZECHOSLOVAK NATIONAL FRONT MEETING

LD271252 Prague CTK in English 1135 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Prague, 27 Mar [CETEKA]--The Central Committees of the National Front of Czechoslovakia and the Czech and Slovak Socialist Republics met here Friday to discuss tasks stemming for the National Front from preparation of general elections to representative bodies on June 5 and 6. The meeting was opened and chaired by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Communist Party, president and chairman of the National Front of Czechoslovakia. It was attended by Premier Lubomir Strougal and other Communist Party Presidium members and leading representatives. Also present were representatives of the political parties associated in the National Front--Chairmen Bohuslav Kucera of the Socialist Party, Frantisek Toman of the People's Party, Michal Zakovic of the Freedom Party, Presidium member of the Slovak Revival Party Jozef Malina and officials of the social organizations in the [words indistinct]. Taking part were representatives of the Federal Assembly, the Czech and Slovak National Council and other political and public personalities. Changes in the composition of the Central Committees of the National Front of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic were confirmed at the proposal of their member organizations. The main speech was delivered by Czechoslovak National Front Deputy Chairman Tomas Travnicek.

COMMENTATOR ON U.S. DELAY OF TALKS WITH USSR

DW271314 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1622 GMT 26 Mar 81

[Albert Reisz commentary]

[Text] Is it an accident that it is pointed out more and more frequently lately that NATO's Brussels missile decision is a dual decision which envisages both the production of American medium-range missiles and their stationing in Western Europe as well as negotiations of the United States with the Soviet Union, and this as rapidly as possible? Is it an accident that more and more urgently the question is raised: What about these negotiations? This is the subject of Albert Reisz' magazine commentary:

Granted, something may be true what is said in the West about the new American administration, namely that it had not yet mapped out its strategy on the East-West relations, that it was about to map it out, that there is a number of people not yet well-versed in international issues who first must familiarize themselves with these matters--but this certainly does not hold true for at least part of the administration because earlier it had sounded quite different--and what else may be said and written. Something of this may be true, as I said before, but this does not answer the question at all as to how things are to go on. For there apparently is kind of agreement between a large number of political forces in the European NATO countries as well as other capitalist countries not belonging to NATO and the socialist countries that things cannot go on like they are now, unless one were to give up or accept a forthcoming gigantic arms race as the inevitable fate for the peoples of the world.

If one does not want this--we certainly do not want it and the strong impression also prevails that important political forces in Western Europe, too, even within the governments of NATO countries, do not want this either--then there is only one road to embark on, namely negotiations, above all negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union. On the part of the Soviet Union there are proposals, quite concrete proposals and yesterday's PRAVDA was absolutely right when it answered the questions asked, primarily in the United States, about the nature of one or the other proposal by saying that the best way of clarifying such things is to go to the negotiating table.

Then there are other questions to be asked: Does the United States want negotiations and if not what does it want then? By the way, these questions are not only raised by us but to a growing degree also by the allies of the United States. This, after all, also is the reason that a large number of ministers from the NATO countries are traveling to Washington now one after the other. Most of the European NATO (?Governments) somehow even feel led by the nose. It is not without good reason that there is always talk of NATO's dual decision on the production of U.S. medium-range missiles and their stationing in Western Europe. For with the missile decision of December 1979 the United States had pledged to enter negotiations with the Soviet Union on this set of problems as soon as possible and [words indistinct] the large number of illusions and self-delusions that existed in the stance of NATO countries.

What matters now, is as to whether or not the United States will keep its word, for some of these countries approved of the missile decision only under the condition that first, SALT-II be ratified by the U.S. Senate and second, negotiations with the Soviet Union be entered as soon as possible. Neither the one nor the other thing occurred. What remains is nothing but NATO's missile decision. Even more so, Washington rejects a meeting on the highest level. The Vienna talks continue to stagnate. In Madrid the United States is bringing pressure to bear on its partners and also on the neutral countries so as to prevent a positive outcome. This is how one behaves if one is in favor of confrontation. And the new administration has said quite frankly that it will negotiate only from a position of strength, that is to say in plain words that it wants to dictate. Nothing much needs to be said about this--that does not work.

For the United States' NATO partner this raises a quite serious question: Up to what point are they willing to cooperate? Some of them already had allowed Carter to drag them onto the road of sanctions and boycott and then they had to concede that this leads nowhere and that nothing can be achieved this way. How is it to be now? One thing is sure: If tensions aggravate any further, and they are bound to do so if negotiations continue to be blocked, then the European NATO countries will be among those suffering for it. In the seventies, at the height of the detente process, they had been able to create remarkable political and economic elbow-room for themselves. Of this they already have lost something. They have much to lose if things continue like this.

SOLIDARITY 'RUTHLESSLY DISREGARDS' POLISH INTERESTS

LD271226 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1234 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Mar (ADN)--In the Polish People's Republic a so-called warning strike in almost all sectors of the economy was provoked this morning by the Solidarity leadership. This has been reported by the PAP News Agency.

With the staging of this provocation, which was accompanied by a nationwide counterrevolutionary campaign of incitement, the Solidarity leaders ruthlessly disregarded the vital interests of the country and its people. In a report on the situation PAP spoke of a "rapid deterioration of the economic situation" throughout the country. In some sectors the situation is becoming "catastrophic." Following a drop in industrial production in February of approximately 11 percent over the corresponding month a year ago, it said, an even greater drop in production is expected for March. This has resulted in a "drastic deterioration of the internal market situation." The shortage of goods embraces all mass consumption articles, above all food. In many towns there is also a lack of milk for children.

FRENCH TRANSPORT MINISTER MEETS OTTO ARNDT

LD271550 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0421 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Paris, 27 Mar (ADN)--The long-term deepening of relations between the GDR and France are of mutual advantage and make an active contribution to the safeguarding of peace in Europe. There was full agreement on this in talks held in Paris by GDR Minister of Transport Otto Arndt with his French counterpart, Daniel Hoeffel, and the vice-president of the foreign affairs committee of the French National Assembly and president of the Association of the French Railways Industry, Pierre Sudreau.

Otto Arndt today ended a 4-day official visit to France. The visit by the delegation he headed continued the traditional meetings at government level, which are the expression of the wish of the two governments for overall deepening of bilateral relations.

In meetings with French transport representatives, Otto Arndt discussed possibilities for even closer cooperation for the further development of transport relations. This included consultations on the expansion of scientific-technical cooperation in, among others, the field of electrification of the railway network.

BUDAPEST RADIO REPORTS POLISH DEVELOPMENTS

Strike Passes Without Incident

LD271946 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Representatives of the Polish Government and of Solidarity renewed their talks early this evening. There was a 4-hour warning strike this morning called by Solidarity. There were no incidents of any kind during the strike. Railwaymen, communications personnel and workers in the electricity industry did not strike, except at the largest powerplant in the country where there was a 1-hour work stoppage. In the cities, the health service remained in action and the food shops stayed open; Solidarity did not involve these in the strike action.

U.S. Attitudes Noted

LD280000 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] The American leadership has begun a new campaign over the events in Poland. It has been announced in the Washington State Department that a working group is to be established to study developments in Poland. Secretary of State Haig told journalists that a split has taken place within the PZPR. Secretary of Defense Weinberger said at a press briefing that the USSR is preparing to take military steps in Poland, although he had to acknowledge that no type of evidence supports this.

Journalists' Discussion

LD281630 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2030 GMT 27 Mar 81

["Background Conversation" program with journalists Eva Vertes, Endre Aczel, Janos Hajdu, Andras Domany and Tibor Zandor--live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Vertes] Regarding the second half of the week, Poland and the accelerating events there have figured more and more in our news, commentaries and reports.

[Unidentified voice] The endeavors of this evening's "Background Conversation" concern the Polish developments, the further weakening of Polish society, or Polish society's attempt to consolidate itself. I think that now it is becoming more and more clearly understood both by governments and by people who deal with politics, not only in our countries but also in Western Europe, and what is more, perhaps even in the United States, that what is happening in Poland is not only a question of whether the positions of socialism in that country will be permanently weakened, or whether it will be possible to strengthen these positions of socialism once again. Because, in fact, this part of the affair is very much our problem, the problem of the world's socialist half. On the other hand--and in the last few days this has been apparent in the pronouncements of a few Western politicians too--it concerns the entire world that neither Europe nor the world can live in the long-term with a completely destabilized Poland. And from this point of view, I think that the Polish situation has this very week become much more a determining issue of international politics than an internal problem of the socialist world alone.

[Unidentified voice] And in this respect the U.S. administration is not too far from the West European standpoints, either, although there were one or two more irresponsible or hysterical statements in connection with the maneuvers of the Warsaw Pact member-states' staffs, perceptible even as far as the U.S. administration is concerned, and much more, of course, on the part of the leadership of the FRG or France.

[Unidentified voice] Everyone must feel the weight of the problem, since the document that was issued on the Moscow meeting of Soviet and Polish leaders contains a statement that international imperialism is striving to upset the balance of power. This statement draws a direct relation between the international balance of power as a whole and Polish internal developments. And what it contains is nothing other than that the force of the attempts connected with Poland is in the last resort directed against the socialist community, and within that against the USSR's strategic and security interests, and such attempts violate these. There is also another implication, that the stabilization of Poland's internal development helps the otherwise inevitable conservation of the present balance of power, which is the basis of every further step toward international security or detente. I would also add that by propaganda and other means, the United States and other leading powers, and state and private organizations, have the opportunity to further heat the already very heated climate in Poland, or perhaps to make it hysterical. In this brittle, extremely dangerous situation every word carries weight, every word must be thought out which is spoken in connection with Poland, whether in official or unofficial places, because when it gets into the (?circles) into which it was in fact addressed, that is to say Polish public opinion, it will be either destructive or constructive. Either way, it will have an effect.

[Unidentified voice] The Bydgoszcz case showed precisely that a tiny spark can in fact ignite a big fire in this heightened atmosphere. A few minutes ago it was said, in connection with Soviet-American relations, that there must be discussions under any circumstances. Now, I think that this is the key sentence also in the case of the Polish internal situation, precisely for the reasons mentioned. One may not, must not, carry matters to the breaking point. And in this, the Catholic Church leaders are agreed--yesterday the premier general held a discussion with Cardinal Wyszynski--just as are those nonparty, noted intellectuals who until now have generally supported Solidarity virtually unconditionally, who were met by the party's first secretary.

[Unidentified voice] We may have read--I think it was in yesterday's NEPSZABADSAG--that there was an extremely sharp debate in Solidarity's National Consultative Commission and that the group led by Walesa was actually defeated by the more irresponsible elements. At the same time I am reminded of Stanislaw Kania's closing words at the Eighth PZPR Central Committee Plenum where he alluded to the fact that one of the conditions of the party's strength and unity, the strengthening of the party's leading role, the restoration of confidence in the party and the masses, is that such elements should play as small a role as possible in the democratic renewal which the party set as its objective after the events of August, elements which do not take this renewal seriously and which in a certain sense strive to torpedo this. I think that here is the connection that must be seen in the course of the daily events.

[Unidentified voice] And perhaps one more observation from the point of view of our conversation. The last few months have shown that the socialist world understands--and I may say follows with sympathetic solidarity--all the efforts which are being made in Poland in the interest of ending, eliminating, the problems, mistakes, difficulties there, and, we may say, of implementing the necessary structural reforms. But, be it true that if today, anywhere in the world, anyone says anything about Poland it will have some kind of effect on Polish society, then it is perhaps appropriate to say that all of Poland's friends can say only that nothing can happen in any country of Europe today that may lead to the upsetting of power.

Warsaw Correspondent's View

LD281914 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 28 Mar 81

[From the "168 Hours--Political Magazine" program]

[Text] We are providing continuous, day-to-day information on the tense situation prevailing in Poland. The events which followed the Bydgoszcz incident are well known. However, public opinion is full of disquieting questions even after the most detailed situation reports. It is essentially these questions which Zsolt Szalay posed to our correspondent in Warsaw, Szabolcs Szilagyi.

[Begin recording] [Question] The situation is that the negotiations between the government commission headed by Deputy Premier Rakowski and the representatives of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity led by Chairman Lech Walesa must continue today. The central theme is the Bydgoszcz incident, a report on which the Ministry of Justice should have published today. This has not taken place so far, according to reports, because the two sides hold rather different views on the findings contained in the report.

[Answer] TRYBUNA LUDU has published a statement by Solidarity. Solidarity says that there are significant differences between its positions and those of the government commission concerning the description and interpretation of the facts in Bydgoszcz. The negotiations were postponed yesterday so that Solidarity could acquaint itself thoroughly with the commission's report. They must adopt a position today. However, the statement to which I have just referred indicates that there are considerable differences between the two sides.

[Question] Many people say that this amounts to almost a general attack, under the guise of the purity of public life, against the public organs and the party's cadres. We are also aware of the fact that posters with various political slogans have appeared in the streets of Warsaw. I suppose you must have seen some of them.

[Answer] Yes, anyone could pick them up easily in Warsaw in the past few days. I was given a few in the city. They contain attacks, in the form of caricatures and slogans, primarily against the workers of the interior ministry at present. The posters launch undisguised attacks on state and party leaders, particularly in the voivodships. I think this crusade is quite easy to understand, even without any special explanation, that is, how the most extreme leaders of Solidarity imagine the purification of public life.

The unceasing propaganda campaign revolved around Bydgoszcz throughout the week. This matter has grown from a local conflict into a question of the nation's fate and I daresay that, had there not been a Bydgoszcz, certain elements in Solidarity would have found another location, another town or some other event to achieve their purposes. The strike that took place yesterday unequivocally demonstrated that it was a political strike and that political endeavors were involved.

[Question] Deputy Premier Rakowski said in the middle of the week that the most recent events brought nearer the moment when the governments and countries in East and West alike would lose confidence in the Poles' ability to solve their problems in a sober manner. Do the Poles believe that they will be able to solve their problems in a sober manner?

[Answer] Well, it is extremely difficult to discuss this question. I feel that the Poles must be clear about the consequences, both the leaders of Solidarity and those who at present support these political demands and strikes with national flags and armbands. They must be clear about the consequences. They have succeeded in creating a public mood in the country which would make the misled masses accept even the most tragic solution. I have a feeling that there is a scenario, worked out in a masterful way, for this. Thus, there are a very great many people who are aware of the consequences.

Unfortunately, almost inexplicably, they accept them; many people accept them but there are also a great many who have become frightened of the situation, and for good reason. I recall the formulation I heard in a radio commentary which said that many sober people are now holding their breath.

[Question] The sharpening of tension began precisely during a period when the government of Premier Jaruzelski began the restoration of the economy. I could go into a great deal of detail here--the development of measures concerning the introduction of rationing, the permitting of imports, price controls, steps taken in the health services, the increase in the lowest wages and so on. In other words, a certain economic and political dynamic had begun in the direction of renewal. Nevertheless, the extremist representatives of Solidarity are making the situation more tense. There are reports that serious problems concerning food supplies are about to arise. The Branch Trade Union and the League of Women both said recently that if Poland failed to concentrate all its available resources, starvation would threaten the country. What is the situation in this respect?

[Answer] What I can tell you is that I know of an extremely worrying report given 3 days ago which stated that food supplies were sufficient for 12 days in Poland. I have no personal information, nor can I have any information, about food stocks in Poland. However, this report concerning a 12-day supply of food was an official one. This is again something completely inexplicable. Government representatives have stressed on a number of occasions that only that which has been produced can be distributed. This perfectly simple and self-evident economic fact is received with skepticism by many people today because it was expressed in the official press, the official radio and television, rather than in the undocumented statements on the posters.

[Question] What can the government and party do to counteract these actions and the increasingly firm voice of the extremist forces in Solidarity?

[Answer] The leadership can oppose the extremes of Solidarity by its own firm stance. I refer here to the position adopted by the Politburo and the most recent speeches by Deputy Premier Rakowski--which are familiar to Hungarian listeners--as well as sober persuasion. I would like to tell you of a very concrete, good example of frankness: About 10 days ago Jaruzelski visited one of the oldest mines in Silesia and had a conversation with the miners who had just ended their shift. Television broadcast this conversation. One of the miners told Jaruzelski: If things continue to go on as they are, that is, if supplies deteriorate any further, we will stop work, not because of a strike but simply because we lack the physical strength to go on working. Jaruzelski responded: We are familiar with the serious problems of the miners and the whole society respects their work. Nevertheless, I cannot make promises without something to back them up. I feel that the Polish leadership does not make empty promixes. The thing that is needed to back the promises must be work as well as understanding and help from the world. [end recording]

Olszowski Plenum Speech

LD300956 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Szablocs Szilagyi reports from Warsaw:

The Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum ended at dawn with a closing speech by Stanislaw Kania. As Warsaw Radio has reported, Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, also spoke in the debate. He said, among other things: The state power has been weakened in Poland. Its organs are being subjected to constant disorder, and its economy is in a catastrophic condition. Thus Poland is a weakened link in the socialist community. Only the party can lead the state and people out of this situation by advancing consistently along the path of socialist renewal.

Olszowski stressed that the line of the opponents of socialism is also gaining strength in the country and that it is represented by certain leaders of Solidarity. Olszowski expressed his firm belief that, contrary to certain allegations, to the best of his knowledge, no one in the Politburo is aiming at a forcible solution to the conflict. At the same time, he criticized Stefan Bratkowski, chairman of the Polish Association of Journalists' and a member of the commission preparing for the party congress, who, he said, is trying to divide the party and its leadership, thus engaging in factionalism.

At the end of their speeches, Stefan Olszowski and Tadeusz Grabski, Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries, and Roman Ney, Politburo candidate, placed their party offices at the disposal of the Central Committee. The Central Committee did not accept their resignation; it gave a vote of confidence to the Politburo and Central Committee as they are presently comprised.

The participants in the ninth plenum addressed an appeal to the Polish working class, every Pole and Solidarity asking that 31 March be a day of victory for reconciliation and dialogue in Poland.

LOSONCZI, LAZAR RECEIVE NEW ENVOY TO IRAN

LD281138 Budapest MTI in English 1046 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Budapest, 27 Mar (MTI)--Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Antal Apro, president of the National Assembly, have severally [as received] received Lajos S. Nagy, Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenitentiary of Hungary accredited to the Islamic Republic of Iran, who will be shortly leaving for his post.

SARLOS, DELEGATION RETURN HOME FROM GREECE

LD271110 Budapest MTI in English 1712 GMT 26 Mar 81

[Text] Budapest, 26 Mar (MTI)--The delegation of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front which under General Secretary Istvan Sarlos was having talks in Greece with Andreas Papandreou, leader of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, and with members of the Executive Committee of the movement, returned to Hungary on Thursday. The sides reviewed actual questions of the international situation, spoke up for the necessity of cooperation of the progressive national forces in preservation of the achievements of European security and cooperation, continuation of the process of detente and promotion of peaceful coexistence between the states. They exchanged views about efforts aimed at further strengthening bilateral relations. The parties judged important the corroboration of direct relations between the two movements, and deepening of their cooperation.

The Hungarian delegation had discussions with Harilaos Florakis, general secretary of the Greek Communist Party. It paid a visit to Sounion and met with activists of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement.

PRESIDENTIAL COUNCIL DECIDES ON STATE AWARDS

LD271826 Budapest MTI in English 1714 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Budapest, 27 Mar (MTI)--The presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic met on Friday. It decided whom to award decorations on the occasion of the 36th anniversary of the country's liberation. Decorations will thus be awarded to 2,025 persons for merits earned in economic constructions [as received], in cultural areas, state administration, in the armed defence of the country and in keeping up law and order. The Presidential Council also decided in matters of relieving and appointing judges as well as in other pending matters.

NINTH PLENUM OF PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS

Report on Meeting

LD291840 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1702 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] The debate at the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw is on the subject of the tasks of the party in the current situation in the country and preparations for the extraordinary Ninth PZPR Congress.

The debate is being chaired by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee. The Politburo paper was delivered by the member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee Kazimierz Barcikowski.

After the delivery of the report by Comrade Kazimierz Barcikowski the debate has started.

So far the following have taken the floor at the plenum:

Member of the Central Committee and sewing workroom master in the Chemina knitwear industry works in Lodz, Jadwiga Nowakowska;

Member of the Central Committee and senior tools storekeeper in the Gryfja repair shipyard in Szczecin, Edward Pustelnik;

Member of the Central Committee, first bottler and brigade leader in the Boleslaw Bierut iron and steel works in Czestochowa, Kazimierz Jarzabek;

Candidate member of the Central Committee and construction brigade leader in the urban construction kombinat Warsaw East, Albin Siwak;

First secretary of the Bydgoszcz PZPR Voivodship Committee Henryk Bednarski;

Member of the Central Committee and senior master in the Predom-Metko metal works in Skarzysko Kamienna, Ignacy Drabik;

Member of the Central Committee and editor-in-chief of CHLOPSKA DROGA, Mieczyslaw Rogswiostek;

Member of the Central Committee, miner and blasting instructor in the Czerwone Zaglebie hard coal mine in Sosnowiec, Adam Baldys;

Candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Szczecin Voivodship PZPR Committee, Kazimierz Cypryniak;

Member of the Central Committee and cutting and tooling master in the PZL transport equipment plant in Kalisz, Wojciech Jarecki;

And Central Committee members Janusz Prokopiak and Jerzy Putrament.

Others to take the floor were:

Member of the Central Committee and seamstress-sorter in the glove and leather garment factory in Miastko in Slupsk Voivodship, Stefanja Aruzen;

Candidate member of the Central Committee and shipbuilder in the Paris Commune shipyard in Gydnia, Henryk Lewandowski;

Member of the Central Committee, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Planning Commission, Henryk Kisiel;

And candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Siedlce PZPR Voivodship Ryszard Bryk.

All speeches conveyed a concern for the destiny of the country and the nation. It is being stressed that the supreme value at the present moment is calm. In the existing situation the party and its Central Committee need the support of all party members and the conviction about their unity and cohesion.

In the resolutions and declarations adopted by the basic party organization, the speakers said, the need comes to the fore and holding as early as possible the extraordinary ninth party congress. It is being suggested that the congress should be held, at the very latest, at the end of next June.

It is being pointed out that the most urgent issues with which the congress ought to deal should be the perfecting of a critical and honest evaluation of party policy to date and, in this connection, establishing the responsibility of all those guilty for the present economic and social catastrophe in the country, as well as adopting a new PZPR statute taking into consideration demands relating to elections in the party, passing a long-term PZPR program and adopting the principle that future congresses will examine the implementation of the programs by the central party organs.

Many speakers also stressed the imperative need for working out a credible report on the state of the economy which everyone can understand and of a government program for its stabilization.

Many speakers also underlined that the party bodies, the trade union movement and responsible social milieus are working for renewal, but that there are also forces acting destructively and which count on the dismantling of socialism.

Many people among the entire elite of the authorities would like, at the cost of a confrontation, to restore the previous system of governing and managing the eocnomy. The objective of all party members and sensible people is not to let themselves be provoked and driven to the path of force.

It has been stressed that the party should go to the roots of evil, elucidate the causes of the crisis and give an honest and correct answer on this subject. Many speakers, representatives of large work establishments, pointed out that today in their enterprises the majority belong to Solidarity, but that among these people there are no enemies of socialism.

It has also been stated that doubts have been aroused by the methods of conducting the dialogue, in particular the pace of talks between the parties in the materializing conflicts and disputes. It has been pointed out that in such cases action should be effective and speedy.

Some speakers also demanded that persons responsible for the unnecessary social confrontations that have recently occurred in the country should be severely taken to task by the party and by their superiors.

The plenum debate is continuing.

Summary of Plenum Events

LD300816 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] The Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee ended at dawn in Warsaw. The plenum sat since 1000 Sunday. The plenum was chaired by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The agenda of the ninth plenum included: the report of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo on the basic problems concerning the domestic situation, the tasks of the party during preparations for the ninth congress, discussion, and the adoption of resolutions and other documents.

The meeting was opened by Stanislaw Kania. He stated that the situation in which the plenum is being held, and to which it is devoted, is extremely difficult. One strike has passed and a new general strike with an explicit political undercurrent is being threatened for Tuesday. Thus we must refer to the nature of the tension. Is the Bydgoszcz pretext at its source, or are there deeper and more fundamental causes which are being characterized as state security and the interests of socialism?

The situation is arousing enormous fear among party members and among all Poles, stressed the first secretary. It is indeed fraught with the worst consequences. Our situation is arousing anxiety among our friends and socialist neighbors, the entire socialist community and also among our friends throughout the world. Poland has become the subject of great interest and great anxiety throughout the world. It is amid such conditions that we are opening our debate, said Stanislaw Kania.

The report of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, the fundamental problems of the situation at home and the tasks of the party during preparations for the ninth congress, was delivered by Kazimierz Barckowski, Politburo member and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Discussion followed, and 44 speakers took the floor. Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, presented on behalf of the Motion Commission draft documents of the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The resolution of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum and the resolution concerning the activity of the PZPR delegation to the 26th CPSU Congress were approved unanimously.

The Central Committee statement concerning the letter by Stefan Bratkowski on internal issues of the party has been approved, and it has been recommended that the Central Party Control Commission examine the matter.

Zdzislaw Kurowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, presented proposed amendments to the provisional rules on the election of authorities and PZPR delegates. The amendments were approved unanimously.

Next, the floor was given to Edward Szymanski, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Wlockawek Voivodship Party Committee. In agreement with a group of members and candidate members of the Central Committee, he moved for the withdrawal of the resignations submitted at the plenum by some comrades, for a vote of confidence in the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, and to oblige PZPR Politburo and Secretariat members to meet party organizations in large work enterprises immediately after the ninth plenum.

Edward Szymanski stressed that the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat have adopted an attitude expected and supported by party members and by the entire community in supporting a political solution of the social conflict.

The first secretary of the Central Committee shared that opinion.

The resolution on the attitude presented by Edward Szymanski was approved by the plenum.

At the conclusion of the debate a speech was made by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

The plenum ended with the singing of the Internationale.

Kania Opening Address

LD291830 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Speech by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at Ninth Plenum of PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] Comrades, I cordially greet you at the proceedings of the ninth Central Committee plenum. The agenda includes a discussion on the tasks of the party in view of the current situation in the country, and discussion on various matters--among them the adoption of the provisional rules for election of authorities and delegates to PZPR conferences and the passing of a resolution.

Our situation, in which our proceedings commence and to which they are devoted, is extraordinarily difficult. One strike is behind us. Tuesday threatens to bring with itself a new, general strike the basis [podloze] of which is unequivocally political. [Passage indistinct] What is the nature of this aggravation? Is the conflict [words indistinct] its source? Or, does it have deeper, more fundamental causes to do with what is termed the security of the state and the interest of socialism?

Party members are extremely alarmed by this situation. One can say all Poles feel likewise. Indeed, this situation is fraught with what is termed the worst. Our friends--both socialist friends, our neighbors, the entire socialist community, and also our friends the world over--are concerned about our situation.

The whole world is very interested in and concerned with the subject of Poland. It is under conditions such as these that we begin our proceedings.

I give the floor to Comrade Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. He will now deliver a report.

Barcikowski Address

LD291500 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1103 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Report by Kazimierz Barcikowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Politburo member, delivered to the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw on 29 March--recorded]

[Text] Comrades! At today's session of the Central Committee we must concentrate on the present situation and the tasks stemming from this situation and on the activities of the party in preparing for the ninth congress, particularly taking into account the report-back and election campaign. Faced with a fresh heightening of tensions in the country, the Central Committee should make a statement on these issues and adopt the appropriate resolutions.

Decisions and resolutions from party echelons and organizations have come into the Central Committee from the whole country. These decisions and resolutions present various views, which are often contradictory, and contain criticism of the party leadership. We accept what is justified in them. However, there are many unjustified points in this criticism--points which result from the difficulties we are in. Most of the decisions and resolutions demand that the present conflict be settled in the interests of the people and state, demand a full explanation of the events in Bydgoszcz, and expect a resolute confirmation of the line of socialist renewal and of stepping up the struggle against any extreme tendencies. We fully support these stances and in my view, this should be expressed at today's Central Committee session.

The previous Central Committee session greatly enlivened the party and increased the expectations and belief by the public that internal conflicts would be gradually overcome and that socioeconomic life would be normalized.

These expectations were not without foundation. They were based on the unbreakable will of our party to continue the process of socialist renewal in cooperation with all forces based on socialism and the Polish raison d'etat [racja stanu]--a will that was confirmed by the Central Committee. These expectations found confirmation in the memorable speech to the Sejm by Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski when he was entrusted with the job as chairman of the Council of Ministers. The program submitted to the Sejm by the reconstructed government and the appeal for 90 calm, work days met public expectations. At the same time, let us note that 90 days is a very short period as compared to the problems requiring urgent solutions. However, the way the situation developed further was full of contradictions. The vigorous action by the premier and the government met with a positive response from public opinion. The goodwill invariably shown by the party and state authorities can be shown in numerous and concrete instances. Our attitude to the mood that arises from the people's bitterness and disappointment, from the growing difficulties of everyday life, from the continuing lack of trust, is one of understanding.

At the same time, we attach utmost importance to dialogue and agreements in the interests of the nation and socialism. We are not just talking about socialist renewal. The proof of this is the fact that administrative work on bills which fall within the scope of economic reform and socio-political life has been accelerated. The provisions of the trade unions bill, of the workers' self-government bill, of the independence of enterprises bill and the bill on agricultural self-government have all been forwarded for public discussion. As soon as possible, the government will let the Sejm have the censorship bill. The provisions of the bill on people's councils will be made public in the middle of the next month. Work is continuing on new legal acts affecting science and education.

We are drawing attention to this, because legal foundations and institutional guarantees of socialist renewal, proof of a consistent approach to this renewal, are being created by legislative measures based on the widest possible discussion.

Many public and youth organizations have held congresses recently. In open and frank discussions over ideological principles at these congresses, supporters favoring a socialist development of the Polish society and the implementation of the basic principles of our system have emerged victorious. Attempts made to push these organisations onto false tracks have failed. However, very diverse tendencies arose in the trade union movement.

The gradual strengthening of the position and of organizational structures of branch and autonomous trade unions continued. These trade unions replied positively to the appeal made by the premier for 90 peaceful days and they acted in the spirit of strengthening the balance and of constructive work in the interest of their members and the nation.

From these positions, they participated during that time in many important negotiations with representatives of the government about the social conditions of the working people. The premier's appeal also met with a friendly reception in many enterprise organizations and among many Solidarity activists.

Although the leadership of Solidarity did not make an unambiguous statement on this matter, nevertheless, one cound assume that the leadership was approaching the proposal with understanding. Intent on ending open conflicts and removing obstacles that cound make cooperation difficult, representatives of the government signed, in a spirit of compromise, the controversial agreements in Lodz and in Rzeszow and Ustrzyki.

The government-appointed commission for cooperation with trade unions held talks with Solidarity on many other very difficult problems.

The general outlines which guided the commission provided for the creation of conditions for systematic cooperation with trade unions and for the solution of conflicts and problems that might arise through dialogue and agreements.

The first talks by the commission were promising, but this lasted only a short time. Once again local conflicts heated up and formed one long link. When one was settled another was started, and thus, by successive actions, a state of tension and excitement was created once again.

They returned to using the threat of strikes, and to the use of strikes themselves as a form of pressure, ignoring the disruptions which the work stoppages caused to the life of enterprises and to the population.

The tactics of talks combined with the threat of strikes came into continuous use. In many cases, justified accusations were made. But in the course of many conflicts, shadowy, often slanderous propaganda was spread, calculated to compromise leading cadres and other people.

One can, of course, say afterwards that the people who are the object of such propaganda lose social confidence and should leave their posts. But in reality, this is the result of pressure which is often exerted by illegal means.

A part of this campaign is the attack on the forces of order in the state. The discrediting of the organs of order in public opinion and the weakening of their work has been the object of various actions.

Despite the explanations given to concrete accusations and complaints, the accusations and complaints continued to be spread in the country, causing a disorientation of public opinion.

We are determined to adhere to a policy of strengthening legality and it is in this spirit that we are shaping the attitudes of the forces of order. At the same time, cases of irresponsible actions by some activists multiplied, actions of a decidedly anticommunist character.

This is happening because supporters of rightwing policies, who are trying to push the country onto the road of creeping counterrevolution, have entered various echelons of Solidarity.

It is a fact that in talks with representatives of the government, the leadership of Solidarity separated itself from glaring cases of this kind of political action, explaining this kind of political actions as a lack of maturity among activists or difficulties in controlling the harmful activities of local centers.

The hasty decisions on strikes were also explained in the same way, and, in some cases, also orders to suspend strikes. These instructions frequently were not obeyed. Violations of statutes became quite frequent in Solidarity. One can say that the functions of the trade union have been pushed far away, to be replaced by political ambitions. In this climate of increasing tensions, the widely-discussed incident in the Bydgoszczy Voivodship office took place.

Let us recall that it was preceded by earlier occupations of premises of state offices in Nowy Sacz and in Ustrzyki Dolne. Even now, there is still in progress the occupation of the headquarters of the Supreme Council of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) in Bydoszcz, which had started earlier.

The state has the right and the duty to defend its property and the work of its institutions. No one is allowed to undermine this law. Nor can it be seen as normal that on the occasion of the debates of the voivodship People's Council a meeting was held outside the building with the intention of pressuring the proceedings.

It is not in conformity with the principles of social order to remain for several hours on the premises of the council after its debates had ended, despite the repeated calls to vacate them. Under these conditions, the fear concerning the action which began during the session of the council, about remaining in the premises and their occupation, was justified.

As is known, during the intervention by the forces of order with the intention of emptying the premises, there took place, in circumstances which have still not been fully explained, the beating of three Solidarity representatives. This is an inadmissible action, and it should be completely investigated.

As is known, the prosecutor's office is investigating this regrettable case. This regrettable incident, even before it has been explained, became the impetus for a new action of national scope and characterized by great aggressiveness. Solidarity's propaganda machine was immediately set in motion, and then the date for a warning strike was announced for 27 March and for a general strike next week.

Ultimatums were made on cadres, and also postulates which had been the subject of earlier talks with the government. Despite the talks with the government commission, a 4-hour warning strike did take place last Friday causing great harm to the economy. It also embraced such sectors which are of particular importance during the difficulties now experienced in our economy and which define conditions of normal work. For example, the strike affected coal mining. The social climate in the country worsened as did Poland's position in the world and its standing in international opinion.

In this way, further elements of confusion have been introduced into political and sociopolitical life. It must be stressed that many comrades in factories opposed strike agitation and acted in accordance with the resolution of the eighth Central Committee plenum. They deserve warm gratitude, and they deserve this all the more because various inadmissible forms of pressure were used for the purpose of bringing about strikes.

In several voivodships, Solidarity activists made moves to affect the education system by strike action. What do parents think of action like this which warps the consciousness of pupils and deforms their mentality? The teachers who embarked on this form of strike action are, by virtue of their qualifications, aware of the educational consequences of involving children in actions of this kind.

We comrades are faced with the threat of a general strike of indefinite duration. The consequences of such a strike, even if standstills are excluded from certain manufacuring industries, would be incalculable for the country and its citizens. Our country does not have reserves at its disposal which would make it possible to overcome this catastrophe in the economic meaning of the word. The structures of our state, the very raison d'etat, would be put to the ultimate test. This is the ominous intention (Zamysl) of Poland's situation today.

This no longer simply constitutes pressure on the authorities but is an open struggle against our party and state authority and against socialism--this is now a struggle for power.

It is absolutely essential that the threats arising from this be understood by the whole of our party and by that part of the public which is aware of the dangers. We have to pose these aspirations with total resolve. If a strike does take place then responsibility for this will fall exclusively on those who organized it.

At the eighth Central Committee session we spoke about the complex membership and nature of Solidarity. A great part of the working class linked its hopes with Solidarity as a trade union organization, acting effectively on the basis of the constitution and of socialist principles. At the same time, forces have appeared in Solidarity which are pushing the union onto the road of political activity and which are engaging Solidarity in a struggle against our party and people's state from anticommunist positions. Recently, it is precisely these trends which have been acquiring importance and this is revealed in instigatory propaganda and political strikes. This results in a threat to the country and to Solidarity itself.

We warn the leaders of Solidarity of the consequences of political adventurism.

It is a law of exceptional importance that members of the party in Solidarity, and that all of its activists and members, basing themselves on the trade union nature of their organization, should resolutely oppose these tendencies and eliminate the carriers of these tendencies from the life of the organization. This is required by a feeling of responsibility for the nature and development of the organization, for its role in the life of the country, and for the country itself.

In a Poland of socialist renewal there are tremendous opportunities for creative cooperation for the trade unions in the self-governing management of enterprises and economic organizations and for their participation in state life, in the interests of working people and the development of the country. At the same time, the principle of cooperation does not contradict the principle of representing the interests of working people. Quite the contrary, the principle of cooperation enriches the principle of representation.

Such practice has already been adopted at a number of factories. Cooperation is developing there between various trade unions with respect to economic results and the social conditions of workforces. Such practice proves how unjustified is the concept, which has been introduced into Solidarity and which is alien to the trade union movement, of keeping one's distance from coresponsibility for work and the results of this work; and for overcoming difficulties. Solidarity bears great responsibility for the fate or the country because it objectively influences this fate through its activities in a favorable or unfavorable manner.

Unfortunately, there is every reason to state that, to date, this influence has very often been an unfavorable one. The abuse of strikes and the questioning of the rights enjoyed by factory management inevitably leads to losses in production and to a laxity in discipline which is vital in modern economies. Of course, these are not the only reasons for all the troubles in the economy. These troubles are the result of previous mistakes, the consequences of which are being exacerbated more and more by (?blows) which weaken the machinery of the economy which is already malfunctioning. The growing decline in output is irrefutable proof of this.

Only a short time has passed since the Sejm approved the socioeconomic plan for 1981. The production results for the first 2 months show that the provisions of this plan, despite the fact that they were considerably lower than last year, will not be fulfilled and a further reduction will have to be made in production tasks.

Agriculture, the construction industry and industry in general are suffering from a shortage of production materials and at the same time the national production of fuels and of raw and other materials is dropping. At the same time our income from exports is dropping, among other things, as a result of the instability of our internal relations. Our position in the international credit markets has weakened and we are not in a position to guarantee the import of raw and other materials which are needed for production purposes or goods to save the home market. This additionally restricts the exploitation of production possibilities in industry and agriculture. While there is a considerable drop in the output from industry and agriculture there is a high increase in incomes and so there is also a high increase in demand by the population.

The lack of equilibrium in the home market is reflected by the long lines which are becoming more and more burdensome. We are now faced with the necessity of introducing controls on purchases and this system will have to be expanded. Can the market situation be further worsened? This is what interruptions at work lead to in the final analysis, don't they?

There are considerable delays in the construction plan, including the housing construction plan. These delays are caused primarily by material shortages but also by a deterioration in discipline and task implementation. Among other things, as a result of a shortage of coal, production had to be halted this winter at some cement plants. And this cement has been lost for good.

Any planned reforms and a start toward improving the situation depend today first and foremost on political solutions which counter the further deepening of economic chaos and which build confidence for rational activities and solutions.

The first principle, which must be universally accepted, is this: Do not harm the economy, do not worsen what is already an extraordinarily difficult situation. Another principle is this: All work for the economy must have its proper rank restored; efforts must be concentrated on improving, above all, the fields which have a decisive influence on the general situation.

That is why, in the talks with the trade unions, the government put forward proposals concerning the most painful issues which determine the implementation of the 10-point program. The near future will show whether the unions will deal with these issues or not.

Agriculture, where the spring field work season is beginning, will require special attention as far as party activities are concerned. Any hopes for improving the food situation in the country depend, among other things, on the extent to which agricultural needs for the means of production are satisfied and on the extent to which the appropriate organizations improve services for the farms. Land management and the observance of the principle of permanence of the peasant economy will bear testimony to the credibility of our agricultural policy. The principles agreed upon must be observed universally and in an unequivocal manner. Apart from agriculture, the market situation will be determined by the industry and the satisfaction of its requirements for energy, raw materials and materials. That is why the extraction of coal, ores and the processing industries connected with it as well as production in other raw material industries require constant attention by the party and the public.

In accordance with the principles of the policy adopted toward small-scale manufacturing industries and crafts, it is necessary to support all initiatives that intend to set up new plants and workshops and to increase the output of the old ones. We must also make sure that export production has a high priority.

Our party has been criticized more than once for excessive involvement in the past in production and economic issues.

This criticism can be justified inasmuch as party branches did in the past interfere with the powers of the managements of enterprises and economic organizations. However, wise talks between the party and the workforces, serving to release production initiatives and to act in a concrete way to achieve a cost-effective management, as well as party activity within the self-governments and administrative control are needed today more than at any other time.

The process of socialist renewal will not meet public expectations; if it does not improve the standard of life of our citizens. Strikes and economic disorganization will not safeguard this improvement.

In the current situation in which for a considerable period of time now the public has been kept in a state of high physical tension and great emotion, the importance of reliable information and of wise, mature journalism assumes an even greater role.

We have irrevocably rejected the propaganda of success. However, it is not possible to cure the old mistakes by new mistakes; by a black propaganda that negates everything and concentrates solely on the negative phenomena of the past and present in the form of cheap sensationalism and demagogy. The overwhelming majority of ills can be quickly eliminated only when the broad public participates in it.

The conviction is needed that it is a sensible way which will result in something better. That is why we favor providing more reliable information essential for the general public to come to their own conclusions and to arrive at their own assessments.

We highly appraise the activities of many journalists and commentators on political and economic life.

Publications today make a critical assessment of the situation but at the same time they make readers aware of the constructive proposals for changes and encourage them to try to find solutions which are better than those that have been proposed. The discussion about the economic reform might serve as an example of this. After all, many controversial publications and proposals which are mutually contradictory have appeared during this discussion but this introduces readers to the whole complex nature of the many problems which are of such importance. These publications and proposals make readers aware of the possibilities and restrictions in the choice of solutions.

We can see that the trend of involvement in the implementation of the party's political line is gaining strength in the press, radio and television. Unfortunately, it must be stated with regret that many publications are appearing which are essentially of very low value and which are demagogic. The demagogy of these publications covers up the shortcomings of journalistic work and seems to ensure the outward appearance of professional success and popularity. Publications also come out which are not only unjustified or incorrect but which are also irresponsible and which because of this irresponsibility are dangerous in an atmosphere of tension and conflict.

We are deeply troubled by the fact that harmful phenomena in journalism are rarely subject to assessment by the journalistic profession itself and do not encounter motivated polemics. Our party is counting on journalistic involvement in a matter which is a key one for the party and the country, and on sensible assistance in guiding social thinking and activities onto a track of constructive searching and working.

Comrades, the situation demands the unification of the whole of our party. The consolidation and strengthening of the party, the development of democracy and discipline, and a transition from a condition of looking intently at our own problems to increasing activity in all spheres of socialist renewal, to broad cooperation with constructive forces and to effective political struggle against the foes of the socialist system are today the most important and most urgent tasks. Our party is meant to be the ideological and political vanguard of the working class and the whole nation.

This is apparent in the historic evidence of our revolutionary workers' movement, of all trends in the struggle which preceded the formation of the PZPR, of the entire Polish leftwing. Despite the errors committed, despite the collapse of the previous leadership--the consequences of which we are now experiencing--the path indicated by the party has on the whole been justified during the 36 years of people's Poland.

It is necessary to embark on a struggle to make the image of those 36 years correspond to the facts; to make it conform to the truth that both achievements and shortcomings are weighed up and justly evaluated. We have made and we deepen the severe assessment of the sources and causes of the present crisis. Criticism and self-criticism must be continued to the end in order to reach the most profound sources of distortions and eliminate the consequences.

At the same time, however, we should, in conformity with the truth, defend the achievements of the entire 36-year period and the positions which the work of our nation and the party has included in the balance sheet of the past decade. The most urgent task in front of us is the creation of all the indispensable conditions which will make it impossible for deviations from the precepts of socialism to occur ever again.

The policy of renewal which we are implementing and from which we will not deviate restores the fundamental values of our system. We strive for the development of socialist democracy, combined with respect for the law and consolidation of social discipline,and for the correct definition and effective implementation of the leading role of the party.

We aim at the consolidation of the position of the working class in the life of the party and the state. We must create such a system in order to manage the state and economy which will answer the contemporary needs of the nation. The socialist renewal should strengthen the ideals of social justice and the ethical and moral norms unique to our system, mold humanist relations between people and ensure respect for the dignity of man, worker and citizen.

The shock caused by the crisis is profound. Time and patience are needed, as are many consistent activities, in order to overcome it. We must realize the circumstances which evoked the moods of disappointment, disillusionment and bitterness in wide circles of society, many symptoms of (?frustration of) views and attitudes. Persistent ideological upbringing and political action are essential, as well as explaining and mobilizing (?action) which is neglected, unfortunately, by numerous party echelons and organizations at present.

Socialist renewal cannot contain concepts of activity which go beyond the historically formed correctness and limits of the socialist system of government, threatening to undermine its foundations. It would be political blindness not to see that the situation demands an alert and effective struggle against the political enemies of the system of government. The crisis opened for them a wide space. We are dealing both with long-organized groups of opponents like the Workers' Defense Committee and the Confederation for an Independent Poland, as well as with the birth of activity of forces which in the past on various occasions have found themselves on the other side of the barricade of the class struggles for the people's authority and for social transformations in Poland.

The political struggle with an opponent of the system is essential if the process of renewal is to take a course favorable for the nation and the state and if in its course the system is not only to purge itself of distortions, but also to strengthen all those values which in the past determined the achievements of the Polish social revolution.

Comrades! The past months initiated a process of profound changes in our party. Many echelons and basic organizations are gradually collecting their wits again after the shock caused by the crisis and the stormy course of events. Disorientation and dejection are beginning to give way to activity. This is a good omen for the future; but the state of our party today and its activeness do not meet the requirements of the situation.

Two extreme opinions on the situation in the party are wrong: The first reacts with distrust and lack of understanding to all signs of a grassroots movement in the party, which are healthy and creative, are geared toward the development of intraparty democracy and the literal implementation of the principles of socialism and stress the class origin and the Leninist principles of our party.

The other opinion treats with reverence any and all manifestations of discussion, without distinguishing between what is healthy and what reflects a confusion of concepts, immaturity, loss of ideological bearings, and, in individual cases, an influence of external forces interested in complicating further the situation in the party and weakening its cohesion. For the most part, the rank-and-file movement within the party wishes to see a restoration or creation of correct principles of discussion and unity, democracy and discipline. The rank-and-file pressure arises, above all, from the fact that comrades in thousands of party organisations found themselves in a very difficult situation. They had to bear the burden of grievances in connection with mistakes not of their own making. Demands were made that they should explain the deformations that they themselves have been bringing to attention for some considerable time. They encountered numerous painful manifestations of reality. They went through hard political tests connected with open conflicts, strikes, acute attacks of political opponents and demagogues of various hues.

It is in conditions such as these that a sharp discussion, at times a stormy discussion, got underway in many party organizations, trying to pinpoint the sources and causes of the crisis, giving birth to extensive demands to settle accounts, abounding in various suggestions and postulates concerning the deep change of relations within the party, and, above all, democratization of inner life and guarantees essential for this.

This movement affected many part organisations first and foremost in industry and at higher educational establishments. It has also been reflected in the fact that contacts were established between party organizations. These links are useful if they serve to exchange experiences and have an inspiring influence on ideological life, if they give birth to valuable initiatives and develop within the framework fo the party's statutory structures.

As far as the overwhelming majority of committees is concerned, there does exist an everyday link with the primary party organizations. Numerous forms of organizational and ideological-educational work have been rebuilt. Attempts to expand the flow of information in both directions have been intensified.

Everything possible should be done to liquidate the distance and lack of trust between party branches at various levels and the apparatus, between the primary organizations and the broad aktiv.

Numerous changes in the filling of leading posts are being confirmed in this manner. Secretaries, newly-appointed executives, committees and control commissions display understanding for the grass roots movement in the party and mold a style of work based on frequent visits to primary organizations, they listen with attention to their opinions and proposals.

This is of particular importance because the crisis gave birth to a certain mistrust of party members and primary organizations vis-a-vis echelons and their apparatus. Most important is the fact that many workers of the party apparatus have defended their imagine in the eyes of the primary organizations because they had been and still are with them; they have assisted them and still do so in this difficult situation. They get involved in the process of renewal and the defense of socialism.

However, situations continue where part of the comrades still stay away from meetings and formulate with utmost ease critical assessments addressed to the primary organization and party authorities that do very little to contribute to the elimination of negative phenomena. It is our task to intensify the progress of inter-party democracy, to fit it into a framework conducive to the ideological unity and organizational cohesion of the party.

In individual party organizations, we witness negative trends contrary to this stance and even extremist ones, departing clearly from the programmatic and sratutory precepts of the party.

Among others, an instance of this is the recent open letter by Comrade Stefan Bratkowski who has widely promoted his views via means outside the party.

This letter introduces deep division lines inside the party and its leadership. Some proposals submitted in the course of the pre-congress debate, sometimes widely disseminated, contain concepts suggesting the curing of one half through the continuation of the other.

Some comrades criticize the situation in which there has been a great deal of centralism and very little democracy, and suggest that for the future we should guarantee full democracy accompanied by a virtually complete liquidation of the requirements for unity and discipline in the party. Criticizing the role of the party executed by administrative methods, proposals are being put forward suggesting that the party should be fixed in such a way as to deal exclusively with discussion and ideological and educational work and accompanied by a decline in the influencing of other party and administrative bodies.

Other voices going beyond the optimum range of interparty democracy and beyond the concept of the leading role of the party worked out during preparations for the ninth congress, which correspond to the regularities of the socialist system, the directives of Lenin and demands of the present situation, can be heard too.

Opportunistic outlooks and phenomena of negating the elementary principles of a party of a new type can be observed. The logic of political struggle is pushing certain advocates of such outlooks into positions of alliance with the (?social) rightwing. (?Let us say one thing:) The party needs discussion. This discussion must take place within the limits of the program and organizational principles which no member can cross. In order to be the vanguard and leading detachment of the working class and the highest form of its organization, the party must be based on ideological unity and must be (?marked) by high discipline. The party must not simply be the total but also the entity of its organization.

Comrades: The main source of both the present crisis and also of former crises has been the paralysis of intraparty democracy and of criticism and control from below and the deformation of the system of appointing authorities and forming a cadre policy. In the preparations for the ninth congress we intend to subject to general discussion and persistently promote in practice a broad range of changes in the life and activities of the party. In particular, what is meant is, first: Guaranteeing the possibility of broadly discussing in the party key issues of the party's policy and of consulting on the most important decisions; guaranteeing the rights of comrades having different views--views motivated by good will and which are within the party's ideological aims--and being able to declare and defend these views.

Together with this we must have a situation when the minority falls in line with the will of the majority and we must have the honest fulfillment of resolutions adopted by this majority.

Third, what is meant is guaranteeing the possibility of developing criticism and self-criticism and of defending those who criticize against attempts to (?persecute) them. The thing is that party authorities at all levels should be (?chosen) in democratic elections. The thing is that the situation of people simultaneously holding party functions and leading positions in the state authorities, administration and the economy should be restricted to the minimum. The thing is that one should ensure that there is a decisive majority of those who are active professionally, of workers, farmers and representatives of various intelligentsia groups in the composition of the elected authorities and echelons, and the thing is that there should be a general restriction in the number of terms of holding down functions in party authorities at all levels.

The thing is that necessary changes must be made in the number, structure and composition of the party apparatus and it must be ensured that this apparatus does not (?dictate to) legally elected echelons which deserve the fullness of power in the party but that it serves these echelons and basic organizations in the fulfillment of their functions. The thing is that democratic customs should be formed in the work of elected echelons and their bodies, that collectivism [kolegialnosc] should be observed, that decisions should be made from free discussions, that autocratic methods and attempts to defeat comrades boldly declaring their views should be eliminated.

What matters is that in the whole system of party work we should greatly increase the role of the primary party organizations, in particular their meetings, to step up the independence of the regional echelons and primary party organizations.

Finally, what matters is the consistent enforcement of ethical and moral requirements as regards party members, in particular those occupying leading posts.

For this purpose we must widen the role of the control commissions which in future should be the result of elections and which should constitute a sovereign body vis-a-vis the party echelon of the relevant level. All this will strengthen the party and will create new impulses for action through a clear awareness of the character of such a party as ours, a Marxist-Leninist party, of the essence of its structure, and limits of party allegiance which must be observed.

The party of the new type is a combination of debate and discipline, of efficient leadership with influence from below and control on the part of the members' masses over leadership organs. This must be a party of action. That is why it must combine the wealth of democratic forms of internal life with cohesion and strength in implementation. The right of party members to debate must be protected by inviolable ideological principles. As regards party members we must be certain that we are dealing with people of common ideas as regards fundamental ideological and programmatic questions.

The right to voice one's own views does not mean consent for the creation of factions organized in a manner contrary to the general line of the party or opposing it with different political concepts. He who wants to debate freely, criticize boldly and defend his point of view must bear in mind that in joining the party by his own free will he transfers to it a particle of his freedom and his rights, and therefore he must be loyal toward it, obey the resolutions, and act in conformity with its ideology.

The party accepts believing workers and creates for them conditions for active work in conformity with its program. But as an entity it believes in the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and in this spirit it conducts the educational and upbringing work in its ranks. As regards matters to which I have referred, there are no readymade prescriptions as yet.

We wish to achieve the best solutions by way of discussions, by analyzing practice and drawing conclusions from that practice. We must effectively oppose the attempts to impose on the party alien tendencies and concepts that threaten its ideological unity and organization.

Therefore, we appeal to all party branches at all levels. To all party members when developing the discussion prior to the ninth congress, to unite in common thinking and action, to reject extremism both in its conservative and radical manifestations, to overcome the lack of trust, to rally round the party's most important tasks.

The faster we create new relations within the party, rebuild ideological unity and organizational cohesion, the better conditions we will safeguard for the preparations for the ninth congress.

We should direct all our energies toward the tasks of today. We must not waste time when the fate of the country and socialism is in the balance, when hostile attacks are being made against the party.

Comrades, the bureau makes, for a decision by the plenum, the proposal to commence in the whole of the party a campaign of elections to the authorities [wladz]. Our proposal accords with the demands being made by numerous voivodship party organizations.

As a result of changes taking place in the composition of party branches and authorities at all levels they are considerably different from the bodies elected as a result of the last elections and we take this into account.

Some 15 percent of organizations availed themselves, after the seventh plenum, of the right to hold elections. The executives elected as a result of these elections find greater support in the party base. The confidence and trust shown in them makes it possible to pose the question of adherence to party principles and ideology in a principled manner, to enlist the help of those who elected them when resolving difficult matters.

In a word, their position is morally stronger. This enables them to carry out more efficient and more active work. The good results obtained as a result of implementing the new, democratic electoral procedure are noteworthy. Such elections usually give us authorities capable of coping with these difficult duties. They embody continuity and the influx of new forces, experience and youth.

We would like, in the report and election campaign, by the conscious will of party members, to see the implementation of the demand for a considerable widening of the participation of workers in the authorities at every level. The content of the campaign to elect new party authorities should be defined by three leading assumptions: First, a just assessment of the achievements and shortcomings of previous work, linked with the formation of a program of activity on the main intraparty, political, economic and social issues.

Second, a stepping up of moral, ideo-programmatic and political requirements of all party members. Third, an accurate choice of authorities, and particularly the use of all those comrades who have taken a profoundly ideological and party stand in the difficult period of crisis. In recent years, not for the first time in the history of the PZPR, the policy of rapid expansion of the ranks, with a lowering of the criteria of party membership, was carried on. We should not lose sight of the chronic state of [word indistinct] which some party members and candidates still retain. Individual conversations with members and candidates can be very useful. We treat it as an important phase of the preparations for the report and election campaign. These conversations cannot be treated as an extraordinary measure. But as an enrichment of intraparty work with a tried and tested method of contact between comrades. The conversations should be carried out by comrades who enjoy authority and trust in individual basic party organizations. They will be above all an opportunity for an exchange of opinions on topics of concern to party members; an occasion to stress their fundamental obligations and to gather opinions and proposals which can contribute to the fruitful course of election meetings and an improvement in party work.

The conversations should also help in purging the party of ideologically alien or demoralized people. The ninth extraordinary congress is linked with the expectations of our whole party. It is a great opportunity for our Marxist-Leninist party. This opportunity must not be wasted.

It is linked with the prospect of a decisive turn for the better, for the strengthening of our party and its leading role, the stabilization of the socioeconomic situation in the country.

The report and election meetings should be organized in compliance with the new version of the election regulations. At today's plenum we are proposing to introduce in it several general amendments postulated by party organizations. These are concerned with abolishing limits on the number of candidates put forward from the hall, confirmation of the principle of the secrecy of elections and a different definition of the role of representatives of the echelons at election meetings.

We are treating the report and election campaign as a key stage of the preparations for the ninth extraordinary congress of the party. Congress will take place immediately after the elections.

The precongress discussion has already been taking place for several months.

It is wideranging and intensive. We have not had such a discussion for a long time in the party. It can be stated even today how it influences the pulse of life in party organizations, widens interests and political horizons and liberates great ideological involvement.

As you know, party circles are holding consultations on the draft program guidelines prepared by the precongress commission.

In April, the Central Committee will examine the results of these consultations and we expect it will approve the guidelines and submit them for discussion by the party and the nation.

We expect that the report and election campaign, linked with the new stage of the precongress discussion, will create good conditions for the preparation of debates in the highest forum of our party.

It is worth saying that all our work must ensure that the congress holds discussions in conditions of order and social calm.

In conclusion, I would like to pose the question: What is the most urgent thing today?

Let us tell ourselves clearly, comrades. It is time to return to and to continue the days of calm and normal work. We must enable the government of Comrade Jaruzelski to implement the 10 points of his program.

Great social hopes are attached to the government of Comrade Jaruzelski, as well as great responsibility--to which we can live up to--granting wide and real support of the working man, of our party. Therefore we should extend to him full and effective support, support not only in words but also in deeds.

What Poland needs is not tensions but calm, not strikes but work, not conflicts but agreement. Such is the point of view of our party and of all the forces which think patriotically.

Such is the supreme prerequisite for overcoming the crises, for carrying out the renewal, for returning to the path of progress.

Report on Debate Speeches

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[Excerpt] Here is a PAP report on today's debate at the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee:

Jadwiga Nowakowska, member of the Central Committee and sewing workroom master in the knitwear industry "Chemina" in Lodz:

The optimistic hopes with which I left the debate of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum have not materialized. An illustration of this state of affairs is provided by the warning strike and particularly by the uncertainty concerning the solution of the existing conflict. In order not to commit today the same mistakes as yesterday we must be aware that our socialist fatherland has found itself in a dangerous situation.

The party has lost the trust of the broad masses of workers. The causes were discussed at the sixth, seventh and eighth plenums of the Central Committee. A broad party debate unfolded around the decisions. We have used the conclusions ensuing from it in the work of the Lodz congress commission. The discussion dealt with basic matters, such as the leading role of the party, the party and the economic processes. We have received many proposals pertaining to the electoral law. Party members express the view that the suggested changes still fail to ensure the indispensable democratization of life within the party.

In many organizations there has been a return to demands sumitted before the eighth congress. There are demands for statutory guarantees which would make it impossible to again commit mistakes in party work and which would protect its members against dangerous distortions. The workers' party organizations, the trade union movement and responsible social milieus are working for renewal. Forces of destruction and anarchy work in the opposite direction, counting on the dismantling of socialism as do those from the old elite among the authorities, who would like at the expense of a confrontation to restore the previous system of governing and managing the economy.

In primary party organizations we see this in an acute manner. The task of all party members and sensible people is not to let oneself be provoked or be driven to the path of force. The party should reach out to the roots of evil, elucidate causes of crisis and provide an unambigous answer, a sincere and correct one. The practice of action by the party leadership does not tally with the sentiments and assessments of rank-and-file members, and in many instances clearly ignores them. I say this not just on my own behalf.

This thesis has been consulted in 50 largest industrial enterprises of our voivodship. Party members demand that those responsible for unnecessary social confrontations in Bielsko, in the Ministry of Internal Affairs hospital in Lodz and in Bydgoszcz should be severely taken to task by the party and by their superiors.

This conclusion applies to part of the party leadership which deliberately misinforms the community about events taking place in the country.

Party members also demand a rapid bringing to account and punishing of the members of the former and present leadership who, in the name of their own interests, strive to disrupt the party, exposing its rank-and-file members to dramatic and unnecessary tests.

Everyday I observe many personal dramas of people who have been linked with the party for years. I see the returning of party cards, which are being given back in many cases by the best. I ask: Is there a higher value than peace in this country, than society's trust in the authorities, and, above all, in the party?

The next speaker was Edward Pustelnik, member of the Central Committee and senior tool distributor at the repair shipyard "Gryf" in Szczecin: A crisis of confidence of party members and the worker grassroots in the policies and actions of the leadership--this is how the speaker defined the deepening crisis in the party and the country. He stated this on the basis of the discussion being developed in many circles, resolutions passed and statements whose conclusions are harsh, unequivocal and show that there is a need for the quickest possible convening of the ninth extraordinary party congress.

In party and worker conversations, many critical comments are being addressed at the leadership of the party and the country for the too-slow tempo in compiling a reliable and generally understandable report on the state of the economy and the government program for its stabilization. These delays are all the more incomprehensible since all means are at hand: highly qualified scientific-technical cadres and experienced management cadres of both party and state. Meanwhile, many important decisions are made with difficulty and deadlines are put forward. This is the case, among other things, regarding the law on censorship, trade unions, and workers' self-government. Similar doubts are evoked by the way of carrying on a dialogue and especially the tempo of the talks between sides which arise out of conflicts and disputes. In this kind of case, one should act effectively and quickly.

Next, the speaker laid the responsiblity for the events in Bydgoszcz on the apparatus of the authority. This is, he said, a course of procedure of forces hostile to the process of renewal, which often put personal interests above the interest of party and society.

Perhaps this assessment is too harsh and unfair, but I would like the proper conclusions to be drawn from it, he said. The speaker went on to state that mistrust was the basic reason why the decisions worked out at the seventh and eighth plenums of the Central Committee had not yet gained full approval in the milieu he represented. The resolution on nonparticipation by party members in the strike being prepared had not gained approval either.

Presenting views of this kind, the speaker expressed the reservation that at the same time there has been a realization and appreciation of the positive changes which have taken place in the post-August period as a result of an enormous effort of all the forces of prudence and commonsense. This fact has been noticed but members of the party are impatient: They would like to considerably accelerate the introduction of various decisions into practice. The latter should be accompanied by a clearly defined and unambiguous attitude on the part of the leadership of the party and of the country, as well as by a program which could be swiftly put into effect and which would be easily understood by all.

The speaker proposed that the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress should take place not later than June 1981.

He also made the demand that by the end of the first 6 months of this year the party and the country should have submitted to them a credible report on the state of the country's national economy along with the government's 3-year program of stabilization. He also called for a change in the methods of conducting negotiations and a precise definition of the concept of antisocialist forces. He also argued that the laws on censorship, trade unions, employees' self-government and industrial enterprises should be drafted within the second half of the year.

Kazimierz Jarzabek, member of the Central Committee and master steel smelter and foreman at the Beirut foundry in Czestochowa, presented a resolution adopted at the plenary session of the party organization at his place of work, stating, among other things, that the recent events in the country and, especially, the danger of the staging of a general strike proclaimed by the decision of the executive organs of Solidarity, in the event of a failure to reach an agreement with the government, require a thorough interpretation free of one-sided attitudes.

The speaker expressed his conviction that the discussion at the plenary session of the Central Committee, as well as decisions made by the session, will lead the country and nation from yet another period which is characterized by doubt as to whether the process of the social renewal can be successful. We must never lose the faith that the party and its Central Committee will again prove the accuracy of their assessments and responsibility--and also courage--in making decisions which will contribute to the solution of the present crisis without a general conflict and without alienation, especially within the working class.

Expressing the view that the stabilization of life in Poland, and particularly the strengthening of the party in society, is not being furthered by putting off the date for convening the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, the speaker stressed that the congress should contribute to forming social moods favorable to a continuation of the work of socialist renewal, in which the party will be the actual and not only the formal leading force.

In the minds of party members in the Boleslaw Bierut steelworks, the most important issues which the congress should tackle are: making a critical, honest assessment of the party's policy to date and, in this light, fixing the responsiblity on all those to blame for the current economic and social disaster, compiling and passing a new PZPR statute, taking into consideration the demands concerning particular party elections, passing a long-term program for the PZPR; and the accepting the principle that the next congresses will call the central party organs to account for its implementation.

The point is also for the party to formulate and really carry out the leading role in the state and to define what the party should not concern itself with and also to confine itself to working out the fundamental directions of the economic reform and not to get embroiled in a debate over the details. This is the duty of the SEJM, of the government and the economic administration.

The congress must be a working congress, it should work through teams which prepare the drafts of documents in variants and not, as up to now, in the form of readymade solutions presented for acceptance.

(?We stress) that in the current situation the party and the Central Committee need the support of party ranks, the belief in their unity and coherence. Such values can be perfected and achieved solely by confirming yet again, with all authority and (?passion), unequivocal approval for the implementation of the social agreements concluded in Gdansk, Szczecin, Jastrezebie, Ustrzyki, Rzeszow and Lodz. An excellent opportunity for this is the Ninth Central Committee Plenum which, as the speaker indicated, should also answer the question: Does not the current composition of the supreme party authorities contain people who are hampering the process of socialist renewal? Social order, the speaker stressed, should be built on an increase in trust.

Then Albin Siwak, candidate member of the Central Committee and brigade leader at the Warszawa-Wschod housing combine, emphasized the necessity for the party to regain credibility. For it to do this, he stated that a change in the program, in the methods of party work and the carrying out of personnel changes to the end were needed. This was because a process of weakening of the party was underway. Its members, party organizations are disorganized. They do not have strategic concepts and are disarmed by clumsy activities of party branches at a higher level.

One has an impression that many of our highest activists do not have a concept for leading the party out of the crisis, being solely engaged in tactical competition. One has the impression that comrades in the leadership only trust each other, unable to think and act in a modern way, rising to the needs of the current situation. We are apprehensive, the speaker continued, of confrontations in radio, television and the press. We are frightened to look the truth in the eye. We are forever hiding behind higher reasons of state. May be this is just cowardice, clumsiness? Where is this party of struggle? Why do comrades who have higher functions within the party avoid meeting local organizations?

Why are they unwilling to listen to those who are in the front line of the struggle for the party?

Since August last year, not much has been done to settle accounts. The best proof of this is the case of Jaroszewicz.

He was being judged not by mistakes in the managing of the state, not because he sank the country in poverty and crisis but for the way in which he brought up his son. Is this an argument for the party?

Touching on the Supreme Chamber of Control and control checks being carried out on summer leisure centers in the Warsaw Voivodship, the speaker stated that a large part of them were normal buildings with all amenities and creature comforts. People who discharged high state and party functions had them built without taking into consideration the fact that materials at state construction sites were in short supply. They wanted more and more, oblivious to the fact that young married couples would have to grow old waiting for the apartment. Today we must ensure as speedily as possible that those who had these dachas built should vacate the apartments they have in Warsaw and move to their own houses. The law must be equally binding on the worker and the minister alike. The party feels we shall not win the public confidence if we do not clear the party--once and for all, and fast, of compromised people and those who abuse power.

After August we declared we were going to head the renewal process. However, the public and party members feel this is not enough. The process of renewal is too slow. It is this that is responsible for the fact that Solidarity took over all the goals of this process, including political goals.

Assessing all that has happened during the past 7 months it is alas impossible to positively evaluate the actions of the leadership. There are too many concessions where determination is needed. Those who cannot cope with the present situation should simply resign for the good of the party.

I made the proposal that this plenum should end with making important decisions which would bring about a radical improvement in the style and methods of party work. At present the working class is in its preponderant majority against us, against the party leadership. The people have been given old slogans, methods and leaders who no one in the country any longer accepts.

The party leadership must conceive the current situation and adapt to it the style of work. There is still time. The party is still strong enough to help the government of Comrade Jaruzelski, but we demand a determined and sensible management of that party instead of hiding heads in the sand.

Referring to a meeting held last Saturday at Warsaw Technical University with the participation of numerous Warsaw organizations, the speaker read out the appeal adopted there, addressed to the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. It demanded the convening of the extraordinary party congress as soon as possible, stating that putting off the congress was not only delaying the process of renewal and contributing to political tensions, but could cause a disintegration of society and of the party itself.

The next speaker was Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship PZPR Committee. The public in the Bydgoszcz area has always been noted for its sense of civic responsibility and restraint, the speaker stated. However, in the past few days peace and calm have been violated in Bydgoszcz and an acute social conflict has taken place.

In assessing the present situation the need to place the Bydgoszcz incident against the background of national processes, and in particular to see it as a link in a long chain of social tensions, is a fundamental issue. Opinions that public peace was ruptured after the events in Bydgoszcz are false. The reasons are considerably deeper and the stakes here are much higher.

In reality, we are dealing with many months of continuous and systematic political struggle and with a weakening of people's power. This struggle is being aggravated chiefly under the influence of changes inside many Solidarity links.

Gaining more and more influence in Solidarity links are people who wish to transform this trade union into a political party of a distinctly opposition nature. The putting together of the facts points persistently to a conscious attempt having been made to ensure that Bydgoszcz should take its place in the sequence of links of the conflict to cause a big hullabaloo in Poland and in the world about this town, just as there was a hullabaloo earlier about Bielsko-Biala and Lodz.

It all started in the offices of the voivodship ZSL committee with the sit-in strike by farmers. This strike enjoyed the support and organizational help of the local Interfactory Founding Committee.

This was the first attempt to take over the offices of a political party in Poland. The next step was preparations for the voivodship People's Council session, which were supposed to create (?for it) a place in the political contest. There are reasons to think that this was an attempt to strongly affect the freedom of representation of organs of state authority.

The actions undertaken in Bydgoszcz and in the country after 19 March confirm the assessment of the intentions and aims of certain Solidarity links. An unprecedented propaganda campaign has been unleashed in which all available means have been used, including rumors and lies. We [presumably "propaganda campaign"] are trying to make sure that it is not commonsense and facts but strong emotions that control people's behavior. An exaggerated and unilateral portrayal of the Bydgoszcz events has been publicized in Poland and the world.

Next, the speaker stated that for a lengthy period of time the situation in the party has not been good. In such a climate the assessment of the sociopolitical situation in the country which was presented very recently by the Politburo has not met with support in certain party organizations. The representatives of power, the speaker stressed, are constantly virtually under the incessant pressure of demands, postulates, (?total) criticism and the undermining of authority. This is accompanied by an attack on the party and its activists and members and also by smashing the party from inside.

Representatives of power acting in such a situation and in exceptionally complex and crisis conditions sometimes make mistakes. This is a basis for a further escalation of criticism. This circle must finally be broken and the authorities must gain the conditions for fulfilling their statutory duties.

A struggle is being waged for national existence, for retaining socialism in Poland. This is why no half measures, tactical concessions or shaky compromises will be of any use. This is why well thought out but resolute steps must be taken today. These steps should be aimed at maintaining an alliance with all those who have retained commonsense and who are guided by the interests of national existence. Energetic forces with such an outlook are also numerous in Solidarity. What is needed is the rapid shedding of prejudices toward this organization, the restriction of mutual distrust and suspicion, and a genuine search for ways to agree and cooperate.

The public resolutely demands a stabilization and does not want to be in a state of continuous threat of total confrontation.

This is why all extremist forces, the speaker stated, irrespective of their extremely different political motivations and organizational situations, must be brought to light and politically isolated. This is a fundamental condition for lasting social peace and for the restoration to the party of its credibility and strength.

Next to speak was Ignacy Drabik, member of the Central Committee and senior master in the Predom-Metko metalworks in Skarzysko Kamienna, Kielce Voivodship. At today's plenum, discussing the most important tasks of the party in the current sociopolitical situation, we must answer the question: To what extent are the party and the Central Committee, the party and economic apparatus designated to the most important leading posts, implementing the decisions of the sixth, seventh and eighth central committee plenums? The accepted strategy for resolving sociopolitical problems related to the existing crisis with the use of political means has won the support of a preponderant majority of the community and party members in work establishments.

In the seventies, the speaker stated, work inside the party weakened, while at the same time bureaucracy was consolidated. There is a lack of organizationally uniform propaganda and ideological influence. At the time when the party and the country face national catastrophe, the speaker continued, there is no functioning of the party in sight, which would be in conformity with the precept of democratic centralism. It must be clearly said that many people occupying various posts want to keep them without any active commitment on their part, at the expense of the working class and preferably with the use of force.

It is not by accident, he said, that some of the Solidarity leaders exploit this factor, threatening their activists with reprisals on the part of the authorities. This is the reason why they are driven to desperate actions and why workforces are being manipulated. Such actions result, in effect, in situations where some of the party members identify themselves with a stand as a member of Solidarity, rather than a as member of the party.

A convincing instance of this is strikes. Let us reflect to what extent party members discharging top duties, starting with a master and ending with a minister, properly implement party policy in the sector entrusted to them. It is from them that the working class and its party should demand offensive party and ideological action and not just economic action. We must frankly answer the question: To what extent do these men carry out ideological and upbringing duties and to what extent organizational and economic ones? Often the weakest of them, concerning whom there have been complaints, were the first to join Solidarity counting on immunity.

But we are noting that organizational elements of Solidarity have already recognized them for who they really are. However, the party should be the first to deprive them not only of their party membership cards, but also of their posts which they had received on the basis of recommendations from the party.

Referring to problems at his own place of work the speaker said among other things: At my enterprise I know the members of my workforce: The majority of them belong to Solidarity, but among these men I can see no organized forces hostile to socialism; they must be looked for outside, beyond the industrial enterprise. All the work is directed from outside; attempts are being made to influence members of the workforce by means of outside pressure. This is being facilitated by propaganda which is also directed from outside. And yet our party's activities in this sphere--despite the fact that we have experts and have the knowledge of methods--are still awaiting central direction and coordination. We are forced to rely solely on our own resources and on the experience of the party aktiv.

The next speaker was Mieczyslaw Rog-Swiostek, member of the Central Committee and editor-in-chief of CHLOPSKA DROGA. Today, when such fierce passions are gaining in intensity, it is necessary to say loud and clear that without the party and without its effort and dedication there can be no renewal. It seems to me that our whole party, ever since the July-August turning point, has given proof that it wants to proceed along the path of renewal consistently and without ever turning back. However, this does not depend on our party alone.

It also depends on the new movement which arose on the basis of protest against evil, but in which, after all, there occur very dangerous manifestations consisting of the abuse of freedom and democratic rights.

It seems to me that it is necessary to say today that in this noble, pioneering and progressive social movement there arise tendencies which contradict the interests of renewal and the interests of the working class, peasantry and the nation as a whole.

Personally, I am and have been a warm supporter of all these people who have joined sincerely and nobly in this difficult work on the renewal of the life of our country, but it is difficult to accept a situation in which responsible activists of this, after all, progressive movement--and this is how we wish to see it and describe it--feel no responsibility for the fate of the country, for food supply, for what we are going to produce tomorrow and how we are going to make our living. They are only entitled to demand and threaten strikes if need be.

What is the character of the recent intensification of the conflict? Personally, I am inclined to accept the opinion that the intensification has not been provoked merely by the deplorable conflict in Bydgoszcz. Indeed, this tragic incident of the violation of law and order should be speedily clarified so that it should not weigh heavily on the examination of the conscience of our party and the authorities of People's Poland. Those who have abused their authority must be punished.

However, strike pressures and threats also took place before the events in Bydgoszcz. Despite the appeal for 90 days of calm, for which Premier Jaruzelski had been asking, something is out of tune here. Those who speak loudly about the support for the premier at the same time--a few days later--organized disturbances. I think that the growing aggressiveness of those extremist elements constitutes a very great danger for our renewal. In my opinion, our plenary session and our party should say so. Does this mean that the party--despite the fact that sometimes it bears a full attack--now has reason, or would have reason, to change its relations of partnership with trade unions and Solidarity? In my opinion, no. But I also think that for the sake of paramount objectives, for the sake of saving our country from an economic and political disaster, we must stop that tragic course and invoke the patriotism of workers and peasants.

Describing the necessity for this work, the speaker said that what is required is a prudent, clear-cut and decisive program directed at finding a way out of this present situation. One hears opinions here, the speaker said, that the leadership has let us down, along with expressions of support for the government of General Jaruzelski. I would like to say that, after all, Comrade Jaruzelski is a member of the Politburo; he is not something outside it, he does not pursue a policy of his own. If this slogan, this support contains the idea of endowing Comrade Jaruzelski with some extraordinary authorization in a situation which, indeed, is extraordinary, then perhaps it would be the right thing to do. At the same time, we must say that the party must believe in its strength and together with all the sound forces of Solidarity endeavor to ensure for the country some minimum of peace.

Cypryniak Speech

LD292004 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] Today's debate at the Central Committee plenum was addressed by Kazimierz Cypryniak, candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Szczecin PZPR Voivodship Committee.

He said, among other things, that the main reason for the present profound crisis is that since the end of the August strikes it has not been possible to combat the crisis of mistrust in our party. As a result, the party is not functioning as a fully valuable force, mobilizing the social and political life of our country. Month after month the party is losing the unity of political action. The central and [word indistinct] steering of the party's activities is weakening. Mistrust between rank-and-file membership and the leadership of the party is getting worse and worse.

The speaker pointed out as the main condition for the reconstruction of the ideological and political bonds of the party the need to carry out a report-back and electoral campaign and to hold the ninth party congress.

More on Plenum Addresses

LD292354 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2185 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] Here is a PAP report on statements by three speakers at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

Janusz Prokopiak, member of the Central Committee, said: If anything has to be added to the assessment of the past months, it is above all this: That although the situation gets worse after every Central Committee plenum, the reason why has not fortunately, been outlined in today's Politburo report. Without such an answer we will not find a way out of this great, dramatic crisis. Since the beginning of the crisis we have been using the general slogan of renewal. We have declined this word through all its cases. I believe that these slogans should either be abandoned or else made to mean something definite and comprehensive to everyone.

Renewal, as I see it, is above all the (?design) activity of the Central Committee which is well programmed and acceptable to changing conditions. Renewal is the efficient, dynamic activity of the party leadership at all levels, that is, broad contact with people and with party members, closely listening to their opinions, seriously working out proposals. The process of renewal must at the same time consider the principles of the system and mobilize to the essential degree the struggle against the polical opponent.

The time has come to look the truth in the face. What has not changed here in the activity of our party? It is certain that we are experiencing increasing difficulties, that the crisis in the party is deepening. Internal discipline is worsening in the party. The contact of many leaders of our party with people is growing weaker and weaker. Attempts are being made to convince people of the correctness of the party line based on the principles of agreement with society. This correct line has been, up to now, a propaganda slogan. A program is necessary which will begin to convince and attract (?people). Let us work out a concrete and bold program. Only this kind of program can gain social recognition. It must be credible. I think the time has come to tell society honestly that the program from the coast and Jastrzebie is not feasible. We must sit down and renegotiate those agreements.

The Central Committee and the party leadership are today negatively assessed for their inaction. Solidarity's policy of negation is not yielding any results. (?It only broadens) everywhere the front of opponents to the party. The situation can be changed, however, by our offensive. We must set the tone of the political atmosphere and direct the way the situation develops, Janusz Prokopiak said. The decisions of the plenum must be adapted to today's exceptional situation. I propose, therefore, that a special Central Committee team be established to urgently work out an efficient ad hoc program for concrete party activity in the coming period. This team of a dozen or so people should work out such a program during the next 7 to 10 days and present it for acceptance at the 10th Central Committee Plenum.

The speaker proposed the broadening of the composition of the Central Committee Politburo by including local party representatives, who would have the opportunity to participate in decisionmaking based on a wide, direct knowledge of their own party milieu and taking into consideration the proposals and opinions of organizations and echelons of their local region.

Speaking in the discussion, Jerzy Putrament, member of the Central Committee and editor-in-chief to LITERATURA, said that the main reason for all the events this year and last is the situation in the party. It [words indistinct] cause this and not any other tempo of the offensive of, for instance, Solidarity, last year, which expected at the beginning that it would be very difficult.

It later transpired that the party melted like butter. They went for it, the speaker stated. This was because one field of the party work, the ideological field, was very neglected. It was the achilles heel in the work of our party. Subsequently, the speaker drew attention to the fact that sometimes we use concepts in a very erratic way and in an imprecise and dangerous manner. He used as an example the following sentence from LITERATURA: It is now unimportant if you are a party member or not. What is important is who is progressive and who is conservative. The progressive and conservative concepts are concepts from an altogether different historical epoch. They do not fit today's world at all. This pair of concepts is anachronistic and very hollow.

Touching on the fact that workers' organizations are against conservatism and for progress, the speaker emphasized, among other things, that in concrete instances the matter of conservatism is, above all, a personal problem and that it is possible and essential to remove people who are unable to pursue correct policies. No fuss is needed here, it is simply a question of a decision by the party leadership. If such elements are in the party leadership, he stated, let it go to the Central Committee so that the conflict may be resolved there.

The speaker later expressed his opinion of the remarks by Comrade Stefan Bratkowski at three successive sessions of the Congress Commission and of the assessments and arguments contained in these utterances.

The speaker stated, for example, that the Stefan Bratkowski's proposal to have the Politburo elected directly by the party organizations would lead to a situation in which the party would be unable to do anything, unable to act.

The Politburo, if it is to fulfill its tasks, must act in a coordinated way. The speaker said that rumors are rife about disputes within the Politburo. It is the speaker's opinion that it is unnecessary to report what happens at the Politburo sessions. However, it must observe the principle of unity of action. Some steps leave one with the impression that one person makes a suggestion, another begins to implement it and yet another concludes it. Something that is not coordinated comes out of such action. It is then, he emphasized, that situations arise which insult the feeling of party dignity.

The conclusion of his speech was devoted to issues connected with the ninth extraordinary party congress. In this connection, the speaker voiced his apprehension concerning the belief that somehow the congress will miraculously resolve everything. After all, very diverse and complex processes are taking place in the party, especially where rank-and-file members are concerned. The speaker emphasized the importance of strengthening the link with the party masses, pointing to the dangers of the attack to split the rank-and-file from the party apparatus.

The moment the party becomes sufficiently big, he said, the party apparatus is vital and becomes an element of effective action of the party.

Against this background the speaker stressed the need to regain influence in party organizations, particularly in large factories.

(Stefanja Aruzen), a member of the Central Committee and a seamstress-sorter at the gloves and leather garments factory in Miastko in Slupsk Voivodship, said in her speech: The latest tensions connected with the situation in Bydgoszcz have greatly shaken the work rhythms of the workforce at the Miastko factory which employs more than 1,000 people, of which 75 percent are women. To date, through the joint efforts of the party organization, the workforce and the management have consistently implemented the resolutions of the three previous Central Committee plenums and the 10-point program of the government of Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The information presented in various mass media about the events in Bydgoszcz, which was delayed, (?contradictory) and full of insinuations, put party members in a (?difficult) position. They were not convinced by the information conveyed by the PZPR Voivodship Committee. This was the main reason for the loss of the good atmosphere which had been worked out with difficulty. The dramatic situation in the (?home market), particularly in the (?foodstuff) market, is having an effect on the unfavorable, and downright disapproving, attitudes of a large group of workers toward the party. Every attempt to explain these matters ends in failure. This has to be changed and immediate action must be taken.

Women are worried by the plan formulated in detail by Solidarity for the development of the situation in the country. The instructions for acting in various circumstances are making an impression--instructions that are known throughout the country. In summing up the opinions and reflections of my workforce and my own opinions and reflections we wish to stress as much as we can the need to give to the whole party an honest reply about the reasons for the absence of a calm atmosphere in the country. We wish to know the whole truth about the policy which is being pursued by the Solidarity leadership and its groups. We wish to know the truth about the Bydgoszcz events. If a mistake has been made somewhere in our actions then we must admit this mistake even if it is not too [word indistinct]. This is the only way to regain credibility in the party and among the public. We wish to know this in order to be able to express our attitude toward the possibility of further solving--on a compromise basis--the most important matters for our society which, unfortunately, is deeply divided in its views and attitudes.

Many regional links of Solidarity are aiming attacks at activists of our party, of the government and of organs of local administration for mistakes of which they may or may not be guilty. The smallest mistake made by one of our cadres is severely criticized. After all, during these 9 months many Solidarity activists have committed mistakes. They are not even acting in accordance with the main decisions of the National Consultative Commission of NBZZ Solidarity. Through their irresponsible attitudes there has been an (?increase) in social tension which has resulted in losses amounting to many millions in production and breakdowns (?among) honest people. It is not strikes but talks which must lead to an agreement. My workforce wants wise compromises and we are waiting for them.

Kisiel on Economic Conditions

LD292216 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 29 Mar 81

["Excerpt" of speech by Henryk Kisiel, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Planning Committee, to the 29 March PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] The daily worsening state of our national economy is not, of course, a result of the latest period, the last few months.

The government's report, now in its final version, on the subject of the state of the national economy will soon provide an answer to the question which is preoccupying everybody. What is the true state of our national economy? How has it been arrived at? Yet, at the same time, one cannot close one's eyes to what has been happening and is happening in our national economy in the latest period.

I would like to draw attention to the fact that from September 1980, from the moment when the accords were concluded in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie we have still noted a monthly decline in industrial production: in September, by 3.2 percent; in October by 5.6 percent; in November, by 6.5 percent; and in December, in excess of 8.2 percent in comparison with the same months last year. This situation has been aggravated by the worst 10 years of crop harvests with a total decrease in agricultural production of about 9.6 percent. This was the position at the beginning of 1981 while the national income declined, for the second time, not merely by 2.8 percent or 2.3 percent, as was the case in 1979, but by about 4 percent.

During the first quarter of 1981 there has been a further and even greater fall in all fields of material production. The implementation of production tasks is running well below the figures of the very modest plan for 1980 [as heard] which [word indistinct] in the Sejm in December last year. This is the result of considerable difficulties with industrial supplies and breaks in the work of many industrial enterprises which occurred in January. During the first 2 months of 1981 the level of industrial production was 10.7 percent lower than in the corresponding period of 1980. The fall in production took place in almost all branches of industry.

As a result of the failure to carry out the plans for the production of raw materials at home--especially coal--and the subsequent reduction in imports, the situation in industrial supplies is now very critical. The domestic production of a number of materials, including raw materials, is considerably lower than a year ago. This is particularly true of cement, the production of which declined by more than 35 percent; zinc, by 16 percent; paper and cardboard, by 7 percent; tin, by 6 percent; nickel, by 5 percent; and rolled metal, by (?0.3) percent. Imports of industrial supplies have declined by about 20 percent in the case of deliveries from capitalist countries. This has led to a radical decline in the stocks of materials and to difficulties in maintaining steady production in processing industries.

The downward trend continued in February. I do not expect the situation to have improved in March. A decline in the production of basic materials has also been registered: coal, by about 1.5 million tons; motor oil, by 23,500 tons; fuel oil, by 10,000 tons; and steel pipes, by 3,500 km. I could cite similar examples. The situation in the coalmining industry is particularly difficult. Coal production in the first 2 months of this year was more than 7 million tons below last year. This has led to the lowering of stocks held by industrial consumers and [words indistinct] coal stocks at power stations are adequate for only 5 normal workdays and in some they amount to only a 2-day supply. There has also been a sizeable reduction in coal exports, which is still the main Polish export, particularly among exports for cash.

In agriculture, in view of the shortages of feedstuffs, there has been a further setback in the output of animal husbandry. Purchases of fat stock during January and February were 9 percent lower than in the corresponding period of 1980. In February this decline exceeded 12 percent. Milk purchases during that period declined by 20 percent in comparison with a year ago. This decline involved difficulties in the supply of milk to the domestic market and to the dairy produce industry. The progress of contracting for both milk and meat supplies indicates that a similar situation will continue in the next few months. The supply of means of production to agriculture also presents an unfavorable picture. Moreover, this is occurring during the most important season for agriculture, the spring sowing campaign. The supplies of feeding stuffs, artificial fertilizers as well as agricultural machines and implements are below last year's level.

There has been a clear reduction in foreign trade turnover, particularly regarding exports. During the first 2 months the value of exports to capitalist countries was 27.5 percent lower than a year ago, the corresponding figure for exports to socialist countries was 17.1 percent. Imports from capitalist countries decreased by 17.5 percent while imports from socialist countries increased during that period by about 21 percent. I emphasize: It increased. This is an enormous help from socialist countries, and especially from the USSR. The limited exports of many goods, as a result of stoppages at industrial enterprises, greatly aggravates the position of the country with regard to foreign payments. This compels us to limit imports, a situation which adversely affects the output of industrial production. I would like to stress here with regard to imports that while the decline in goods imported amounts to 17-30 percent, the proportion of imported foodstuffs, cereals and feeding stuffs, as well as market commodities, is increasing.

The greatest tension exists with regard to money and market goods. Following the implementation of the concluded accords, personal income increased steeply, or relatively steeply. The increase in personal income in the first 2 months of 1981 was about 17.7 percent and in the wage fund already more than 20 percent. The supplies of goods are growing at a much slower pace. I would say at no pace at all because it amounts to 1-1.5 percent calculated at current prices. This fact makes the already drastic situation on the market deteriorate still further. Especially difficult is the situation in the food supply. The food market in our country has become truly disorganized. The supply of goods depriving from agricultural production is declining and the stocks are running low. In these circumstances continued sales are no longer being maintained. The market situation will be extremely difficult throughout this year because the high rise in personal income is, to some extent, a certainty while the possibilities in the supply of commodities are limited.

In the country's present difficult economic situation the government, led by Army General Comrade Jaruzelski, has launched what I would call an operation action covering several directions. We cannot afford high strategy at the moment. This action is aimed mainly at reducing to the minimum the consequences of the difficulties in the most sensitive social spheres, such as food for the population, supplies of medicines and the protection of the living standards of the poorer groups of the nation. This action consists, above all of thorough and consistent implementation of the ten points of the program presented in Premier Jaruzelski's statement during the Sejm debate.

In addition, in view of the present situation in industrial supplies, this action involves already today a regrouping--an operational regrouping--of the available reserves of fuels, materials and raw materials in order to satisfy to the maximum the requirements of agriculture and of the domestic market, both of which receive priority consideration with regard to the allocation of supplies. In view of the shortage of hard coal we intend to introduce, as early as April, a limitation on the production of goods which use large amounts of coal and energy in their production processes. Second, we are trying to alter as much as possible the structure of imports in favor of increasing imports of cereals, feedstuffs, artificial fertilizers, means of plant protection, food preservatives as well as medicines, even at the expense of supplies for some branches of technical industries. Finally, the government action is aimed at searching for every possible source of increasing the supply of goods and services, especially at small industrial enterprises and in local industry, frequently with the use of local raw materials which are still often underutilized, as well as recycled raw materials.

In addition to ad hoc actions the government is working hard on the government plan for stabilization which in its new version based on the latest data--only such a programme has real and effective value--will, in my opinion, be ready within the next few weeks.

The government's immediate plans, however, are constantly being disturbed in implementation. This is the same government, the government of General Jaruzelski, which I think is (?supported greatly by everyone).

In the present difficult economic situation work interruptions lead--and must lead if they occur to a greater extent--to a total collapse of the economy as a result of catastrophic disruptions in production processes. An interruption in work in one factory or one industry has an affect, because of production connections, on the work rhythm of other factories and industries even if these are working normally. This state of affairs has resulted in a relentless drop in industrial production in the past few months and, consequently, in a reduction in goods supplies to the domestic market and in a reduction in the goods (?getting to the ports). During 1 hour of work our industry manufactures goods worth about Z1 billion. Excluding factories in which there are continuous production processes and which very often are not affected by work stoppages a 1-hour loss of work amounts to Z800 million.

Thus, a 4-hour work stoppage means a loss in production of about Z3.2 billion. And this has already happened; it happened on Friday--continuous production processes excluded. During the first working shift the value of losses already amounts to Z6.4 billion. During 1 day, if one considers that we have shifts [words indistinct] 1.4 to 1.5 [figures as heard] then this is more than Z9 billion. Of course, during 10 working days this figure grows to Z9 billion. Of course, during 10 working days this figure grows to Z90 billion.

If one takes into account the structure of industrial production, the value of lost production of market supplies for 1 hour is in excess of Z240 million, in other words, about Z1 billion for 4 hours, almost Z3 billion for 1 day, and Z30 billion for 10 days. One should add here that during a 24 hour period an average of Z3.5 billion is paid out from the wage fund. So this must be added together: 1 day of no supplies to the market means a loss of Z3 billion and Z3.5 billion paid from the wage fund.

Stoppages in the extraction industries have a particularly paralyzing effect in a situation when the whole economy is experiencing acute shortages of raw and other materials which are produced in Poland or which are imported. The current reserves of many fuels and raw materials are very low and a further drop might cause a total halt in production in many people in many factories.

Dabrowa, Bryk Speeches

LD300012 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] The plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee is continuing its debate. The speakers included Krystyn Dabrowa, member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Krakow party committee. Speaking about the political responsibility for the already existing consequences of the Bydgoszcz conflict he named, above all, the fact that propaganda and information have been brought to the extreme limits of all belief. This must be severely condemned, Krystyn Dabrowa said: After all someone is responsible for maintaining a wall between the awareness of the nation and the mass of party members on the one side and the party line of accord with the nation on the other.

The dramatic nature of the present situation is all the greater because the trust which is being rebuilt with effort between the local party organizations and party authorities at various levels, and especially the trust in the Central Committee, has again been considerably damaged. In the face of the danger threatening the country and socialism the unity of the party is particularly necessary for us. But there can be no unity of the party without the unity of ideas of the local party organizations and the central leadership. The speaker expressed his conviction that the preparation of the theses for the ninth congress of the party is taking too much time. It is necessary to adopt a decision on the date of the ninth congress. It is also necessary to adopt a decision at the plenary session to open to partywide discussion the manner in which delegates to the ninth congress are to be elected.

Another speaker in the debate was Ryszard Bryk, candidate member of the Central Committee and first secretary of the Siedlce Voivodship party committee. He said that the most urgent matter is to seek a way out of conflicts and avoidance of a general strike. This, today, is the fundamental issue. It is necessary to achieve a justified compromise which would not go beyond the interests of socialism and the nation; nothing else matters. The use of force would be not only our greatest misfortune and a tragedy for our nation but also a loss of face for the socialist community and the idea of socialism in the eyes of the whole world. Analyzing the situation within the party, the speaker drew attention to the divergence between the assessments and resolutions of party organizations and authorities at various levels and the directions recommended by the party leadership and the Politburo. He also said that there is a growing criticism not only of the Central Committee and the Politburo but of all the central seats of power.

Ryszard Bryk stressed the need for the party congress to be called before the end of June.

Referring to the problems of Solidarity he said that even if Solidarity today had a different image, more colored by political activities, in August it had been, after all, a sound movement of protest of the working class against distortions, deviations and irregularities of all kinds in the socialist system. If today we have on our hands a different situation, of a diversified nature, it does not mean that we can elect the path of confrontation and declare that the whole of Solidarity is an opposition political party. It is necessary for cooperation with Solidarity to be carried out on the principles of honesty, on declared principles, and not on the principles on which the issue was handled in Bydgoszcz for instance.

In each of such cases it is necessary to present just assessments, intrinsically correct, and fully inform the nation, and in addition do it honestly and thoroughly as well as speedily.

The debate of the plenary session is continuing.

Further Report on Debates

LD300154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0001 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] The deliberations of the Ninth Plenum of PZPR Central Committee are continuing. A debate is in progress. So far about 40 speakers have taken part in the discussion. Next to speak are: Gerard Gabrys, Central Committee member, a miner and explosives instructor at the hard coal mine (?Barbara-Chorzow in Chorzow); Gen Jozef Baryla, Central Committee member, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Main Political Board of the Polish Armed Forces; Czeslaw Drozdowicz, Central Committee member, [word indistinct] at the Polish ocean lines in Gdynia.

In addition, the following took part in the debate: Henryk Jablonski, member of the Politburo and chairman of the Council of State; Zygmunt Gajewski, member of the Central Committee [word indistinct] at the Warsaw steel works; Miroslaw Milewski, member of the Central Committee and minister of internal affairs; Jozef Teuchma, member of the Central Committee and minister of culture and arts; Antoni [word indistinct] member of the Central Committee, locksmith and master craftsman at the Chemitex-Stilon textile works in Gorzow Wielkopolski; Janusz Roszkowski, Central Committee candidate member and chief editor of PAP; Andrzej Werblan, member of the Central Committee, director of the Institute of Fundamental Questions on Marxism-Leninism.

Speaking in the debate, Stanislaw Zielinski, [words indistinct] at the factory of locomotives and (?rolling stock) H. Cegielski in Poznan, said that he was given the authority to speak on behalf of the 3,500 members of the Cegielski workforce.

The Politburo, he said, ought to carry out an in-depth evaluation of this work, what it has done, what decisions it has made and then present proposals which should be implemented immediately to save the fatherland. It is important that party members be made responsible for their actions he said. We cannot, however, do this at the grass roots level only [doly]. This examination of responsibility should be carried out generally, with reason but also with justice. Everyone must be held accountable, he said.

Jerzy Skalski, Central Committee member and engine driver at the state railways in Zdunska Wola [word indistinct] said that at many meetings concern is expressed with the party and the nation. The party comrades cannot resist the pressure and the aktiv is breaking down. Today's plenum must state firmly that there is no Poland without the party and without socialism. My comrades gave me authority stated Jerzy Skalski, to appeal from this rostrum to the whole working class, to all Poles, to Solidarity, so that 31 March is a day of reconciliation and the victory of dialogue.

Andrzej Bosowski, Central Committee member and senior foreman at the Rapako boiler factory in Raciborz, addressing the premier, said that after events in Bydgoszcz he was convinced that he would appear in public in front of television cameras in order to calm the nation. People expected it, said the speaker, and it is too bad that it did not happen. You should be with the working people every day because your presence there improves the atmosphere. You should be consistent in your efforts towards the improvement of our life.

Andrzej Bosowski moved that the Central Committee and party leadership, at least once a year, should ask all party members for their independent opinion in an anonymous and direct way. The results of this poll should be published by the party press.

Kazimiera Gromada, Central Committee candidate member and fitter from the PZL Mielec communications equipment factory, presented the following open letter to the ninth plenum of the Central Committee from the plenary session of the factory party committee in Mielec: In the difficult situation in which we have found ourselves as a country, the letter says, we are becoming increasingly anxious not only about the economic fate of Poland but also about the destiny of our statehood. Members of the party of the largest factory party organization in Rzeszow Voivodship express their wide and sincere support for Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and for his actions, from the position of the only just path for Poles--the socialist renewal of public life and the economic reconstruction of the country.

At the same time the letter deplores the fact that, in general, party authorities have become separated from the masses, that they cannot or do not wish to understand that democracy is not a gesture of power but the essence of the socialist system and that justice is the same for all. Socialism cannot be an asset of the elite. It cannot mean privileges for an alienated ruling class bound by its sectional interests. Socialism constitutes an authority from choice, elected by the working class and representing the interests of the working class. A long passage in the letter devoted to the party says that the party must be revolutionary because this is the need of the moment. It must be revolutionary, not through bloodshed, but through thoughts and action. It must show prudence as well as determination. For this reason it must, above all cleanse itself of all casual and compromised elements who, acting against the law have lost the dignity of the name of party member. The letter contains a demand that the ninth plenum should take a determined stand towards a solution to the crisis and avoid a confrontation using force, as well as a demand to purge the ranks of the party for the sake of quality. It also contains demands to hold democratic elections of party authorities at all levels, to fix the date of the extraordinary congress and to submit a political program, as well as to bring to justice and punish--in accordance with the law--all persons responsible for the economic and political crisis in our country.

More on Plenum Speeches

LD300830 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Among those speaking at the ninth plenum of the party Central Committee were: Central Committee candidate member, teacher in [word indistinct] schools in Zamosc, Grazyna Pietka; Central Committee candidate member, Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology Janusz Gorski; and Central Committee member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Also taking the floor was Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw Party Committee, who dealt with the conflict which has deeply moved the Polish community in connection with events in Bydgoszcz. He stressed that irrespective of difficulties in assessing these events, the law should come out in favor of the victims. He said that the communique of the Politburo, in particular the part dealing with party members' attitude toward strikes and defense of the legal and constitutional order by the state, is correct. Stanislaw Kociolek further stated that the statements of previous speakers support the view that a universal report-back and electoral campaign must be held in the party. Just as a lot of comrades, he said, I also think that it is my duty to undergo this party verification, both as regards regulations as well as moral attitude. the discussions held so far on the economic problems were considered by Stanislaw Kociolek as being without substance [przyczynkarskie]. He stressed that so far there has been no true concentration of effort on the party forces, economic administration and the trade unions focused on solving the issues.

Noting that Solidarity, in spite of the dialogue undertaken with the government commission, had failed to cancel the warning strike and is preparing for a general strike, the speaker pointed out that the broadly developed political and propaganda campaign by this union is a source of a kind of (?creeping) psychosis. One cannot fail to repeat yet again that everything is showing that in Solidarity, which is a great movement which must have an important place in the renewal [words indistinct], political tendencies, aims and actions have taken the upper hand.

The speaker stated that the most important matter for our country is to return to the social contract, according to which the renewed, new trade unions are and will continue to be trade unions. Commenting on the voices in the debate which criticized the activities of the Central Committee Politburo, Stanislaw Kociolek stressed that this is an issue which grew spontaneously in the party and which a lot of organizations and participants in the debate addressed out of a feeling of duty toward their colleagues, with the best of intentions in mind.

However, he continued, there have also been cases when these actions were initiated and organized from outside of the party. This has also influenced the course the plenum has taken. stressing that in recent months he had the opportunity to watch the work of the Politburo and in particular the work of Comrade Kania, the speaker stated: I cannot accept without some personal feelings the sharp and critical evaluation that was formulated in the days preceding the plenum and at the plenum. It is important to resolve personnel matters, but personnel decisions are only one helpful factor. They do not solve everything.

Antoni Wrobel, member of the Central Committee, electrician at the Mozowsze refinery in Plock, acquainted the plenum with the resolutions handed to him by first secretaries of enterprise committees of the largest party organizations in Plock and the party orgnization at Petrochemia, and with the attitude of and statement made by the executive of the voivodship party committee.

The ninth plenum of the Central Committee, says the statement by the voivodship party committee executive in Plock, should demonstrate unity or carry out necessary personnel changes in the Politburo which would ensure adherence to the uniform political line, and finally set the date for the ninth congress of the party.

We share the view that the congress should take place not later than the first half of June. The congress should be preceded by an election campaign in the entire party and by decisions which would advise the government to immediately reorganize the central administration apparatus. According to the provisions of the great economic reform, it should lead to the departure of people who represent a conservative stand, a decision concerning more stringent party regulations, and speedy introduction of party measures which will punish persons who have committed economic offenses, and who abused their posts for private gain. The executive supports the solution of conflicts by the political methods being practiced by Stanislaw Kania and Wojciech Jaruzelski.

At the Central Committee plenum the attitude of all members of the leadership should be clearly presented, and the Central Committee should make necessary decisions accordingly. According to the executive of the voivodship party committee in Plock, the ninth plenum of the Central Committee is the party's last chance to regain its leading role.

Janusz Rozkowski, candidate member of the Central Committee and editor in chief of PAP, said that our credibility and the success of our intentions lies in agreement between our deeds and our declarations, between words uttered on behalf of the party and truth, all truth. A reference was made here today to the letter from Comrade Bratkowski. I do not wish to fefend all his theses, but if we are treating the matter of the socialist renewal, the question of a dialogue with the nation, as well as our credibility seriously, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that there exist in our ranks ambivalent postures and even unambiguously negative attitudes towards everything that leads to implementation of the accords. Let us remember that there are still many in our ranks who give the impression that they have learned nothing of the new and have forgotten nothing of the old and rejected. (?It is necessary) to learn what to say and how to say it. How often do we tend today--as if lately there has been no change of any kind in the country--to practice silence where one should be speaking loud and clear, to operate with half-truths where truth alone can ensure the indispensable contact with the nation. What is worse, this is not only a mere habit, an unfortunate reflex action which used to make life so easy for the authorities in the past period. The tendency to identify such practices with the multifaceted aspects of public communication leads to a situation in which there can arise a dangerous notion according to which only the manipulation of information, hiding or embellishing the truth, can serve the cause of socialism in our country. There is nothing more perilous, nothing that could make us more unattractive, nothing that would be more effective at undermining trust. Each ambiguity as seen by the new form of the representation of the working people will undermine their trust in us. The requirements of the political struggle for new values create a situation in which those of us who fail to comprehend the need for real and complete renewal, who are unable to change and act in the new way, must go.

Interior Minister's Speech

LD301036 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0915 GMT 30 Mar 81

["Excerpts" of speech given by Miroslaw Milewski, PZPR Central Committee member and minister of internal affairs, at the ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum on 29 March in Warsaw--read by announcer]

[Text] The deterioration of social discipline is alarming. This encourages criminal elements. Lack of respect for the law is quite widespread. The stmosphere of mutual incriminations, of continuing tendencies to settle accounts, accompanied by a general lack of concern for stabilization, for calm and fruitful work, shows no sign of abating.

Public opinion is upset by the propaganda actions connected with the events in Bydgoszcz. The procuracy is engaged in a vigorous investigation. A team of responsible employees of the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] is also engaged in inquiries to clarify the matter. I would like to assure the Central Committee that intensive action has been taken to explain all the circumstances connected with the injuries inflicted on the three individuals. Explanation of these circumstances and the pinpointing and punishing of those who are guilty is in the interests not only of the leadership of the ministry, but also of all the functionaries.

We know about the program of the opponents of socialism to dismantle the structures of the socialist state in Poland. This program envisages, among other things, an attack on the MSW, which is an important link in the state system. This program envisages propaganda actions aimed at portraying the MSW as a third force independent of the party and the government, carrying out its own policy.

Political gamblers, known enemies of socialism, have penetrated certain parts of Solidarity. People whose extremist attitudes are known hold sway over some of its officials. They desire power and are irresponsible in their actions. This is why the trade union, despite the will of many genuinely honest people, is turning into a political force which is harming the socialist state.

Recently there have been attacks on functionaries of the MO [civil militia] and the SB [security service] in all the voivodships. One should not entertain any illusions whatsoever. This constitutes another stage in the implementation of the plan to dismantle the socialist state. The time has come, stated Milewski. to struggle for cohesion in the party ranks in the face of the growing danger, to take the upper hand. The time has come to curb the widespread and lack of observance of the law. We are and will continue to be ready to carry out even the most difficult tasks in the service of the nation and the socialist fatherland.

Pierz Address

LD301120 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0925 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Here are some excerpts from the speech made during the discussion at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 30 March by Antoni Pierz, member of the Central Committee, a fitter and foreman at the (Chemitex-Filon) chemical fibers plant in Gorzow Wielkopolski.

He stated, among other things: Members of the Gorzow party organization demand decisive action to bring about stabilization quickly to eliminate the atmosphere of tension. The process of renewal in the party is too slack. We do not agree that careerists and those guilty of economic crimes should only be punished by having their party cards taken away from them and by being dismissed from their official posts. This is not enough. Recent tensions have dealt yet another blow to party cohesion and to its ability to act.

We cannot reconcile ourselves with activities that weaken the party. Comrade Bratkowski's letter falls under that category. The letter strikes at party unity, setting the so-called party rank-and-file against the party leadership and party branches at various levels. Thus the letter echoes what Solidarity extremists are saying. I believe, stated the speaker, that the motions commission should discuss the issue of Comrade Bratkowski's continued presence in the Congress Commission.

Later Antoni Pierz stated: We are currently going through one of the final stages of the struggle for power between the party and the hawks who manipulate Solidarity.

We can lose a battle but we cannot allow ourselves to lose the war. People join Solidarity because they see it as showing the strength which the party is not showing.

The speaker stated that in order to implement the 10-point program, General Jaruzelski's government must be given the opportunity to act. The rightwing of Solidarity must understand that strikes due to reasons of pay lead to national disaster. I am sorry--the speaker stated--that the rightwing of Solidarity must understand that strikes due to insignificant reasons lead to national disaster.

Subsequently the speaker outlined the text of a resolution passed at a report-back-election conference held by the party organization at his plant. The resolution states that the party's main task is to convene the ninth extraordinary congress, implement quickly the program of reforms and social contracts and prepare and introduce into practice the economic reform program. The resolution states that the PZPR Central Committee decision on party members refraining from taking part in political strikes gives rise to many conflicts and controversies.

The propaganda action pursued under the slogan of struggle against antisocialist forces is being implemented clumsily, states the resolution.

The conference demands that those guilty of the actions in Bydgoszcz should be exemplarily punished, in accordance with the law currently in force.

Rakowski Speech

LD301204 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1024 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Mieczyslaw Rakowski was the final person to speak in the discussions at the ninth party Central Committee plenum. He is a member of the Central Committee and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers. He stated, among other things:

[Rakowski, read by announcer] I am convinced that a great threat is hanging over our fatherland. The country is plunging into an economic and political crisis. The structures of the authorities are being eroded for various reasons, above all, it is my conviction, because of our incompetence and also because of our inability to abandon traditional forms of exercising rule and also because of various kinds of recalcitrance which do not allow us to come to terms with reality. The main feature of this reality is the exceedingly profound crisis of confidence in its leading bodies at all levels. This crisis is being manifested not in the crisis of attitudes to socialism in general, but to the methods used in managing the socioeconomic development of the country.

One must also include in the reasons which are plunging the country into chaos, the activities of extremely radical forces active in Solidarity, said Mieczyslaw Rakowski. We are threatened by a general strike. Its consequences cannot but be catastrophic and cannot but harm the path toward agreement. We must be aware of this. A general strike signifies the crossing of the threshold behind which the abyss begins.

Certain comrades tend to look for all the mishaps in Solidarity, said Mieczyslaw Rakowski. You can do this if you want, but one must remember that this is an organization which has millions of working people as members, millions of young workers who really are wonderful people. Solidarity also has party members within it ranks: several hundred thousand according to estimates. For the first time since September, considerable sections of the party have formed blocs en masse with Solidarity organizations. Opinions and assessments as to the present situation are common; the declared aims are also common ones.

The Bydgoszcz events are a direct reason for the latest and exceptionally acute phases of the crisis. One feels like crying when one thinks to oneself that what happened in Bydgoszcz did not need to happen, stated Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

In my view the reason for the sharp reaction by the public to the events in Bydgoszcz is that the whole nation, or a considerable section of the nation, considers that the law was violated in Bydgoszcz--and not only by Solidarity. One must not violate the law in Poland, whatever the circumstances. If we violate the law then this encourages our policial opponent--and this opponent is in the shape of the group of radicals active in Solidarity--to apply the same methods. Our opponents can violate the law although they ought not to. But we can never do this.

The main reason for our misfortunes is the fact that both the party base and also considerable sections of the public nurture certain, quite great doubts as to the credibility of our words and deeds. They do not believe that we honestly wish to implement the renewal program. I think we all know full well what is meant here. But if someone does not know then this is a sad reflection on that person.

How can we cope with the approaching disaster--a storm which will swallow us and which will sentence the nation to suffering and dramas? The key to reversing the fatal course of events, stated Mieczyslaw Rakowski, is to be found in the party. It is also to be found here, in this hall.

Olszowski, Grabski, Ney Speeches

LD300328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] The Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee has ended in Warsaw. Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee, made a speech at the conclusion of the debates. The plenum ended with the singing of Internationale.

Stefan Olszowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, took the floor among others. He said among other things: I would like to emphasize the correctness of the assessment contained in the Politburo report at today's plenum. Poland has become a country with a weakened state authority. Its bodies are being subjected to constant dismantling. The country, with its catastrophic economic situation, is a weak link in our socialist community. Only the party is able to lead the state and people out of this by consistently following the line of socialist renewal. I stress this because in our country another line has spread. It is the line of the opponents of socialism. At present it is being characterized by the aspiration to take over state power in Poland by the leading aktiv of Solidarity.

During the discussion, and also in some resolutions, an opinion has been formulated that allegedly in the party leadership there exists an inclination for a forcible solution. I would like to say with full conviction, and according to my honest knowledge of affairs, that there is no such tendency for a forcible solution in the Politburo.

Stefan Olszowski continued: Concerning party unity, and the unity of leadership, I would like to say that the party leadership works all the time in unison and indiscriminately. All decisions have been prepared collectively.

Referring to questions concerning dishonest information as mentioned in some speeches, and to alleged manipulation of the press, the speaker said: I have been guided by the assumption that party press organs should serve the party policy, and to this effect I have been indeed actively endeavoured to influence collectives. However, accusations of press manipulation or disinformation appears in the press. Accusations of dishonest information have also been put forward by Comrade Stefan Bratkowski, the chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists. In his well-known letter, and in other speeches, Comrade Bratkowski, as a member of the Congress Commission, has entered the road of splitting the party and its leadership. The road of fractional activity.

The next problem is the preparation of material for the ninth congress. I support the motion that today's plenum should set the date of the congress. As the chairman of the Secretariat of the congress commission I have been endeavouring to manage its work in order to achieve the politically mature form of the program provisions.

I would like to refer to the issue of Poland's place and role in the community of socialist states. And to stress in particular the universal principles of realistic socialism against the background of the importance of the 26th CPSU Congress. It would be a useful thing for our Central Committee plenum to express its approval of the line and work of our delegation to the 26th congress. I am stressing the great importance of the congress for the consolidation of the policy of peace. The cooperation with the Soviet policy for 36 years have been a guarantee of our independent statehood, as it is now.

Speaking about his work in the Politburo, Stefan Olszowski stated: I am an communist and like every communist and soldier I am at the disposal of the party Central Committee. I will serve the cause of socialism in any post.

Tadeusz Grabski, member of the PZPR Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee, speaking in the debate, said that the escalation of tension which has been going on for some months has now reached the most dangerous state of threat to our country. According to the fairly universal feeling of the community the reasons for the recent crisis are seen in the divisions which allegedly exist between the party leadership and the nameless provocateurs who disturb the process of renewal. This is encouraged, Tadeusz Grabski said, by the subversive, anti-party activity of Stefan Bratkowski whose open letter, which was widely publicized by Solidarity, is spreading confusion and disorganization among broad masses of party members in the community.

Tadeusz Grabski stated further that he is in favor of further accord (?as regards the dialogue with Solidarity), as well as compromise, but not to the one before the last. [as heard] There is a limit which is laid down by socialism, by the supreme goals of the political system, by our alliances and by our membership in the family of socialist states. The point of the matter is not at present in the vision into those for the renewal and the hardliners [twardoglowy] in the party. The borders and the lines of divisions are clearly demonstrated by the goals of various social forces, while spreading the slogans of renewal and understanding the renewal in an ambigious way [words indistinct].

Following the eighth Central Committee Plenum, Tadeusz Grabski said, the struggle of the counterrevolutionary forces for power has been gaining in pace and scope. There is a clear stepping up of this struggle. In spite of the empty misleading slogans and declarations about the renewal, a march for power is going on. Diarchy has now become a fact, Tadeusz Grabski stated.

The most difficult and sharpest struggle in the 26 years of People's Poland is going on. At the same time psychological and physical terror, [words indistinct] is intensifying against people who show civic-like attitudes and who demonstrate responsibility, and in particular against the activists and party cadres and leadership cadres.

The violent behavior, anarchy, and adventurism conducted by some of the cells of Solidarity, by their direct and indirect effects, strike at the foundations of the economic existence of the state.

Speaking about the Bydgoszcz issue Tadeusz Grabski said: I would not be me, I would not be a communist--even though everywhere today and even in this room this does not sound like a popular view--if I did not state that I support the evaluations of the origins and the political explanation of (?events) in Bydgoszcz contained in the Politburo statement of 23 March. It was not lack of good will on our side which caused this regrettable incident.

This was an intention which was planned in advance [as heard] scrupulously prepared and which concerned people of extremely adventurist personalities.

Having presented his evaluation and attitude vis-a-vis the most vital interests of the party, Tadeusz Grabski placed his party functions at the disposal of the Central Committee.

Roman Ney, deputy member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, said among other things: The plenum of the Central Committee is being held in a particularly difficult political and economic situation for the country. The atmosphere that derives from this situation has also affected our debates. A critical state has developed in the party. The masses of party members and a number of party authorities at various levels are at the crossroads and in great (?confusion) as to attitudes and directions of action. It is necesary to ponder why we now experience this state of strong tension, and particularly why we have failed to put on the move the 6 million members of the party which should play the decisive role in overcoming the crisis of the state. The mood of the nation is influenced by the very difficult economic and market situation; this is why there is inadequate interest on the part of the nation in the government and party actions leading to socialist renewal. The nation is continuing to pay too much heed to various antisocialist groups including irresponsible elements from the radical wing of Solidarity. In order to influence this in a positive sense, it is necessary to show more concern about implementing the concluded accords and bring about a swift renegotiation of the points which, because of the state of the country's national economy, cannot be implemented at present.

The situation is developing unsatisfactorily within the party itself. As the leadership, we have not been able to introduce a pace of changes compatible with that organ of the party. I personally accept the criticisms leveled at the leadership as justified. It is the principal duty of every one of us to place oneself above personal ambitions. I would like to state here that if it is necessary in order to eliminate the mistrust of the party toward its leadership and enable the first secretary to set up a better team of leaders, I place myself at his disposal and at the disposal of the plenary session of the Central Committee. At the same time I move that the present plenary session should select the best possible membership of the Politburo which, on the basis of new methods of work, will be fully capable of directing the party as the real leading force of the socialist renewal and of the strengthening of our country as an important element of the socialist camp.

The ninth plenum of the Central Committee of the party has adopted resolutions and other documents. In accord with a group of members and deputy members of the Central Committee, Czeslaw Szymanski, member of the Central Committee, first secretary of the Wloclawek Voivodship Party Committee, moved for the withdrawal of the resignations offered at the plenum by some comrades, for passing a vote of confidence in the Politburo and the party Central Committee Secretariat, and for making it incumbent upon members of the Politburo and the party Central Committee Secretariat to meet immediately after the ninth plenum with the party organizations at industrial enterprises. This position was adopted by the participants in the plenary session.

Vote of Confidence for Politburo

LD300306 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0230 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] The ninth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee ended its session in Warsaw. Those who spoke in the discussion spoke with concern about the party and the nation and appealed to the whole working class, to all Poles, to Solidarity to make 31 March into a day of reconciliation and victory of dialogue.

They stressed that the party must act decisively. If it is to be responsible for the country and for the nation it must be strong. It must stand on strong foundations. In speeches, the need for making party members responsible for their actions was pointed out. It was stated that it is necessary to bring everyone to book [rozliczac] with reason, but at the same time with justice. It was stated that everybody should be made to account for their actions. The speakers at the plenum demanded that the date for the extraordinary congress of the party be defined. The state of the current preparatory work to the ninth congress was criticized. It was suggested that the plenum should adopt a decision on a immediate start of the report-back campaign in all the party organizations and that it define the period in which such a campaign is to be completed.

Members of the Politburo and secretaries of the Central Committee, Tadeusz Grabski and Stefan Olszowski, as well as the candidate Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Roman Ney placed their party responsibilities at the disposal of the Central Committee. The ninth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee adopted (?resolutions) and other documents. Upon consultation with a group of members and deputy members of the Central Committee, Central Committee member and first secretary of the party voivodship committee in Wloclawek Edward Szymanski proposed that the resignations given to the plenum by some of the comrades should be withdrawn. He proposed that a vote of confidence be adopted for the Politburo and the secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee, and that the members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the party committee have it as their duty, immediately after the ninth plenum, to meet with party organizations at work enterprises. This proposal was approved by the participants of the plenum. At the end of the session Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party Central Committee delivered a speech. The plenum ended with the singing of the Internationale.

Resolution on Domestic Situation

LD300946 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0830 GMT 30 Mar 81

["Text" of "First Resolution" adopted by the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw on 30 March]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee has acquainted itself with the appraisal of the socio-political situation in the country contained in the Politburo report and also with the contents of the various resolutions and decisions which have come from party organizations and echelons.

They express deep anxiety about the development of the situation in the country about the future of the state and the nation and demand that decisive steps be taken to strengthen the party. They contain critical observations addressed to the Politburo and the Central Committee.

The ninth plenary session of the Central Committee sees in the lively and often controversial discussions which are taking place in the vast majority of party organizations proof that the creative process of the will for socialist renewal is now penetrating the whole party.

The vast majority of party organizations express deep anxiety that Poland has found itself in face of a great threat, because the actions undertaken by the party and the government aimed at the implementation of the tasks of socialist renewal outlined by the party, the implementation of social agreements and political, social and economic stabilization have been disrupted by a new wave of social tensions. The political crisis has deepened, the hopes for 90 days of peaceful work may be dashed and the line of agreements and cooperation has been threatened.

The main threat to the country is the undermining of the structures of the socialist state. Strikes, which have been accepted as tools of the struggle of the working class in the defense of its social interests, are being exploited for the weakening of the people's state and for the curbing of the constitutional functions of the organs of authority.

Pressures are being exerted to an ever greater degree on the NSZZ Solidarity in the direction of its developing political activities so as to enter into the competence of state organs.

Groups of opponents of socialism, various forces of the social rightwing, b. influencing Solidarity and by inspiring actions which are contrary to its statute, are developing extensive propaganda actions aimed at the sowing of the lack of confidence in the party and state authorities, especially in the militia and the security service.

The increasing tensions, and especially the organization of strikes and the introduction of anarchy into economic life, dramatically worsen the already difficult economic situation of the country, make difficult the struggle for the satisfaction of the elementary foodstuffs needs, create the danger of galloping inflation and put the country face to face with immediate economic catastrophy.

The Central Committee appraises with great seriousness this development of the situation, because it augurs great dangers for Poland and all Poles, creates threats to what socialism has already achieved in Poland and threatens the dashing of hopes for the socialist renewal of our life.

It is the unshakeable duty of the party and of all social forces standing on the platform of socialism to do everything to ensure the emergence of the country from the deep crisis and to create conditions of calm, order and national and civic safety.

The Central Committee confirms that the unchangeable line of party action is aimed at normalizing life, continuing the line of agreements and dialogue and solving conflicts by political means through talks and clarifications and through taking into account public opinion.

This attitude should guide all sides concerned in preventing strikes. At the same time, the Central Committee plenum appeals to all workers, to millions of the working people, trade unionists, to all persons guided by a sense of civic responsibility, to support the line of dialogue and agreements, to break the wave of strikes.

We need social agreements for the solving of the dramatically difficult economic situation and for undertaking the struggle aimed at the satisfying of the elementary needs of the working people.

The plenum instructs the Political Bureau and the Government to fully explain the events in Bydgoszcz and to draw the necessary conclusions.

But this regrettable incident must not justify the use of final steps which disturb social calm.

The Central Committee, guided by the postulates and proposals of party organizations, speaks in favor of such changes in the statute of the party and in favor of institutional guarantees which will ensure the full implementation of the Leninist norms of party life.

The proposals for changes in the statute, adapted to the results of the consultations, will be presented by the Central Committee for the approval of the ninth party congress.

The Central Committee, in conformity with the demands and comments submitted by party organizations, introduces changes and amplifications to the temporary election regulations. These are concerned mainly with the universal secrecy of the election of party authorities and the abolishment of the limits on the number of candidates for posts available to delegates.

The sharp criticism that is taking place within the party concerning the deformations of the process of socialist construction has instigated many constructive and creative reviews. But at the same time, tendencies have been revealed which threaten the unity and the cohesion of the party and which also weaken its effectiveness in political and ideological action.

That is why we must firmly oppose the questioning of the principle, which is supreme to a Marxist-Leninist party, of democratic centralism; the weakening of party discipline; the launching of theses of ideological pluralism and attacks on the statutory [statuowa] structure of the party.

We must oppose conservative attitudes which slow down the necessary transformations and lower the authority and the credibility of the party and views and attitudes which negate the leading role of the party and weaken its influence on over-all social and economic life.

The party must oppose at the same time all attempts to weaken its ranks, divisive attempts, fractional actions and ideological capitulation--by firmly defending the principles of socialism.

The party must consolidate itself internally to be able to undertake effectively the tasks resulting from the current sociopolitical situation in the country. Individual talks, which are being conducted in the party with all party members and candidates, serve this purpose. These talks should define the attitudes of members of the party toward ideological principles and to the political line. They should also consolidate in our ranks the fundamental party criteria, such as fidelity to Marxist-Leninist ideology; patriotism and internationalism; the undertaking of struggle against views hostile to socialism, which weaken the party and its structures and aim at its ideological identity and its active participation in the process of renewal, the honest attitude toward work and the solicitude for the strengthening of social discipline; and the adhesion to moral norms and principles.

The Central Committee instructs the central and local party auditing commissions to accelerate work on the definition of political responsibility of party members guilty of violations of the law and of moral principles, so that this process can be completed by the ninth congress and its results presented to the congress.

The nation also expects that state organs of control and of the administration of justice will speed up the work on the extent of criminal responsibility of persons guilty of exploiting their functions for personal gain and of violating legal norms.

It is the task of the whole party, of all its echelons and organizations, to struggle for the political unity of the trade union movement. Millions of working-people have linked with the transformations which are taking place in the trade union movement, including branch trade unions, NSZZ Solidarity and other trade union organizations, their hopes for effective defense of their social and workers' rights, for the strengthening of democratic forms of social control and for progressive reforms of economic life.

The party wants a strong trade union movement, and it will support all its constructive initiatives which serve the working people.

At the same time, underlining the topicality of the decisions of the eighth Central Committee plenum, the Central Committee deems important the task of party members to oppose the influences of opponents of socialism on the various echelons of Solidarity and to consistently oppose attempts at the transformation of the union into a political organization, which creates a state of social tension and anxiety.

The Central Committee has decided to carry out a general party election campaign. This campaign, together with individual talks, will constitute an important state of preparations for the ninth extraordinary congress. The aim of the campaign is to carry out, on the basis of individual talks, an appraisal of the attitudes and views of members of the party and of the plan of action for basic party organizations and echelons called for by the requirements of the current situation, and to elect party authorities who command respect.

In the course of the campaign, we must aim at increasing the participation of workers in all party organizations.

The Central Committee instructs party echelons and organizations to carry out the election campaign by not later than the end of June of this year and to review in depth and use all the suggestions, views and postulates submitted by members of the party in the course of this campaign.

The Central Committee is of the opinion that the ninth extraordinary party congress should take place by 20 July 1981, that is, at a date immediately following the completion of the election campaign.

The tenth Central Committee plenum should approve program provisions for the precongress discussions, establish norms of representation and define the plan of party actions during the period leading up to the ninth congress.

During the period of preparations for the ninth extraordinary congress, we must strengthen our party ideologically and organizationally. The consolidation of the party around the Central Committee and its political line that has been outlined constitutes an imperative condition for the stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the country and an effective opposition to the threats that arise.

The Central Committee appeals to all party members and candidate members for understanding and acceptance of the decisions made at today's plenum, and for their active and disciplined implementation.

Resolution on CPSU Congress

LD300844 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 30 Mar 81

["Text" of "Second Resolution" adopted by the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw on 30 March]

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee welcomes the important resolutions and results of the 26th CPSU Congress. They delineate the paths of the further universal development of the Soviet Union under the leadership of the CPSU and constitute proof of the consistency in implementation of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence and of the continuation of the program of peace adopted by and expanded at the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses. The significant proposals presented by Leonid Brezhnev and approved by the 26th congress, which show the way of struggle for permanent peace and for preventing the thermonuclear annihilation of humanity, are of particular significance against the background of the intensification by imperialism of the arms race and the undermining of the policy of detente.

Undertaking new pioneering tasks, multiplying the rich achievements of the construction of the developed socialist community, the Soviet communists are the first to gain experience valuable to other socialist countries and all the forces of progress in the world.

The PZPR Central Committee fully approves the activity and the stance of the delegation of our party at the 26th CPSU Congress and highly evaluates the CPSU's internationalist solidarity assistance and support in solving the difficult problems facing the party and the Polish nation.

LOCAL PROPOSALS, RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PZPR PLENUM

No Confidence Vote Proposed

LD281508 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Szczecin, 28 Mar (PAP)--A plenum of the PZPR Works Committee at the Polish Shipping Line [PZM] was held yesterday. It passed a resolution in which we read, among others:

We, the members of the PZPR Works Committee at the PZM--representing more than 1,800 members and candidate members of the party--are deeply concerned about the current situation in our country. This is why, being aware of the seriousness of the situation, we cannot allow a confrontation to take place which would be tragic as regards its consequences and which we are inevitably being led into by extreme forces present both in the party leadership and also in Solidarity. We must demand a well-considered dialogue from those which have the right to do this on our behalf.

In connection with the above, the PZPR Works Committee at the PZM demands that a proposal on a vote of no confidence for the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee be introduced at the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The proposal must be voted on in a secret ballot. Should the vote of no confidence be passed, the Central Committee will elect a new composition for the Politburo and Secretariat. We demand that a definite deadline be set for the congress, which should be held no later than 15 June this year and which should be preceded by an all-party report-back and election campaign at all levels.

Local Resolutions Cited

LD281802 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] We continue to receive copies of decisions, statements and resolutions adopted by party organizations at various levels and addressed to the Central Committee, the ninth plenum, or personally to Stanilsaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee.

We read among other things in the resolution adopted by the party organization of the Warsaw Polytechnic, which held an extraordinary meeting today with the participation of party organizations of the Warsaw steel plant, the FSO [Automobile factory], the Ursus tractor plant, Warsaw University, the Medical Academy, the Central School of Agriculture, the Main School of Planning and Statistics, and with the participation of Albin Siwak, member of the PZPR Central Committee:

We express full support for the forces of renewal and political and social honesty in the party leadership which had their say at previous plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

We express full confidence and support for Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski as the head of government and for the action program presented by him. We demand that those forces and people which are slowing down the renewal processes, which represent conservative [zachowawcze] views, or which through their views, attitudes and actions might lead the people and the party to dramatic confrontation, be isolated both among the party authorities and within the state apparatus. We appeal for the immediate (?taking) of all steps of a political nature which might prevent a general strike and its further consequences which are today difficult to foresee.

At the same time the party organization at the Warsaw Polytechnic appealed to the ninth plenum of the Central Committee that it take definitive decisions in the matter of the deadline and program of the congress.

Next, in the resolution of the party meeting at the (Wykromet) automatic press factory in Czestochowa we read:

We demand a genuine renewal without saving the positions of those comrades who have lost their political platform and we demand that people who have committed deviations from legal norms should be resolutely made responsble in the light of the criminal law which applies to us all. When we think of the leading role of the party, we wish to see party activists of the higher echelons in our production sections at work places and cloakrooms and not only at solemn meetings. Those who today are afraid to go out and meet the working class cannot regard themselves as activists of a party which is called a workers' party.

Appeal Sent

LD281809 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] At the Warsaw Polytechnic an extraordinary meeting of the Polytechnic party organization was held. Taking part in the meeting were representatives of the Warsaw steel plant, the FSO [automobile factory], the Ursus plant, Warsaw University, the Medical Academy, the Central School of Agriculture and the Main School of Planning and Statistics.

Those attending the meeting adopted an appeal which has been sent to the Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee which is to take place tomorrow. We read in the appeal, among other things:

Faced by a dramatic heightening of social tensions and by the threat of a conflict striking the very foundations of the nation's existence, we appeal for actions to be undertaken immediately which may lead to a solution of the conflict along a political path and which may lead to opposing any actions and provocations which could bring about confrontation and bloodshed. We demand the isolation, both among the party authorities and within the state apparatus, of those forces and people who represent conservative views or who through their attitudes and actions may lead the nation and party to a dramatic confrontation. We express full confidence and support for Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski and for the action program which he has put forward.

Preplenum Statements

LD282210 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] The plants' party organization aktiv held a session at the Makrum plant in Bydgoszcz.

The session was convened so that opinions and conclusions could be forwarded to Jozef Blajet, member of the Central Committee and of the Makrum plant party organization. Jozef Blajet is to present them at the ninth plenum of the party's Central Committee. Jozef Blajet has been instructed to suggest at tomorrow's plenum that an election campaign should be held as soon as possible in the whole of the party and that the extraordinary ninth congress should be held urgently. In connection with this, congress documents should be made available for discussion forthwith. This applies, in particular, to the draft statute. A new, deeply democratic electoral law must also be worked out.

It was stated that it is necessary to remove from party and state authorities the former activists who lost the trust of the electorate. It is also necessary to effect an immediate party and penal punishment [rozliczenie partyjne i karne] of people who abused their positions and power. It was also emphasized in the discussion that party authorities ought to be aware that the current crisis is being dangerously exacerbated.

It was stated that tomorrow's plenum of the Central Committee is the last chance to make the renewal process in the party and public life credible.

The plants' party organization at the automatic processes plant Wykromet in Czestochowa, in a resolution passed at a party meeting held at the factory and sent to Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the party's Central Committee, demands genuine renewal, without attempts to save the positions of those comrades who have lost their political platform. Those who departed from legal norms must resolutely be sought after, in the light of penal law binding on us all.

It is stated that the party's power is not to be found in party buildings, representative halls and leisure centers boasting special standards. When we think of the party's leading role, we want to see higher party activists in our production departments, at our work positions and cloakrooms [as heard], not just at academies. He who today is frightened to meet the working class cannot regard himself as an activist of a party that bears the name of workers' party.

The open letter of the plants party organization which operates at the WSK-PZL [transportation equipment plant-Polish aviation plant] in Mielec--an organization which has some 5,000 members and is the largest in the Rzeszow Voivodship--contains, among other things, the following words:

Our party must present a program which will gain wide public approval. More than that: Today, when the public is highly conscious, the nation's program must become the party's program. The letter also contains demands to deal with those who are guilty of the current crisis and to provide reliable and speedy information in the mass media.

The appeal by party members, including those who also belong to Solidarity, from the Blachownia chemical combine's design center party organization, contains the following thoughts:

It is not necessary to declare a state of emergency in the country. The state of emergency is on and in progress: The foundations of national existence and our day-to-day life are imperiled. In this situation, no conflict has a right to exist. So-called objective reasons lose their meaning. This is because the only objective reason is raison d'etat, the reason of Poland's existence.

Political Solution Desired

NC291644 Paris AFP in English 1633 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Mar (AFP)--Affiliate groups of the Polish United Workers (Communist) Party today called for a political solution to the current crisis in the country. The resolutions were made at today's party plenum meeting.

The party's local Krakow committee underlined the "danger of an extremist hold on the Central Committee's political initiative", while a sailors' union cell argued that the party must act as "the leading force in the nation".

The party's organisation of a small car factory in Tychy called on parliament, the government and the Solidarity independent trade union to "work in a spirit of dialogue and understanding to avoid Tuesday's general strike".

In an open letter, a party's committee from a factory in Mielec noted that the party must "come up with a programme likely to win large social approval", and it called on the media to be honest in its reporting.

SOLIDARITY, GOVERNMENT CONTINUE MEETINGS IN WARSAW

Walesa 'Hardline' Speech

NC271800 Paris AFP in English 1756 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Mar (AFP)--Shortly before labor and government teams resumed talks today on the country's current social crisis, Solidarity union president Lech Walesa declared that his organization was ready "to fight to the end" and to call an unlimited, general strike beginning Tuesday if necessary.

Mr Walesa made the statement, the strongest declaration he has delivered in many months, to workers at the Ursus tractor factory in a Warsaw suburb. The 17,000 workers at the plant had, along with millions of others throughout the country, staged a four-hour "warning" strike this morning.

In his talk, Mr Walesa said that Solidarity "has no choice and cannot give way, even an iota, on its essential demands." He told the workers that, "if we do not reach an accord with the government, we will fight on, because we have no other way. If we give in now, we will soon be in the same position as we were previously before last summer's strikes."

The nationwide strikes forced the government to recognize the principle of independent, self-governing trade unions.

Mr Walesa said that in the past, gains once granted had been withdrawn later. "We do not want to go backwards," he declared.

He said that the union should win the battle it has begun "without regard to the price that has to be paid," although he said that it should not "endanger the state."

Mr Walesa emphasized that Solidarity "is not anti-socialist" and was not seeking to seize power. But he said that those "who are putting barriers on the route to renewal and have acted illegally" should be ousted from their positions.

He declared that the workers' position had the support of Polish Primate Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, the country's bishops, "certain regional committees of the Communist Party" and numerous local administrators.

The Solidarity president appealed to workers to remain calm, to act acutiously and to avoid "being used in any kind of provocation."

Soon after addressing the Ursus workers, Mr Walesa and other Solidarity leaders resumed negotiations with government officials headed by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

The two sides are seeking a solution to the crisis created on March 19 when union leaders at Bydgoszcz, 240 kms (150 miles) northwest of here, were beaten by police and militiamen at the offices of the regional council. Union members throughout the country demanded that those responsible be punished. Negotiations were opened but were broken off Wednesday. They were to have been resumed yesterday but were postponed until today.

Talks Resume 27 Mar

LD271645 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1631 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Here is a news item we have all been waiting for with anxiety and hope: Talks between the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs headed by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski and the delegation of the National Consultative Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity with its chairman, Lech Walesa, have resumed in Warsaw. This is the third round of talks begun on Sunday, 22 March.

Bafia Commission Communique

LD282324 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Mar 81

["Text" of 28 March communique issued by the government commission established by Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, to investigate the 19 March events in Bydgoszcz; commission chaired by Justice Minister Jerzy Bafia, and also comprised of Ryszard Brzozowski, under secretary of state at the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare; Jan Jablonski, first vice minister at the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection; Deputy Prosecutor General Kazimierz Kukawka; and Sylwester Zawadzki, chairman of the supreme administrative tribunal]

[Text] The commission adopted the view that the essence of the task with which it was entrusted amounted to the preparation of a report on the course of events in Bydgoszcz, together with essential proposals, and the presentation of the report to the chairman of the Council of Ministers as a matter of urgency. The commission dealt with the most reliable (?versions) of the events as it cannot stand in place of the appropriate authorities engaged in the relevant proceedings within their official capacities, especially the organs of the public prosecutor's office.

On 22 and 23 March, the commission visited Bydgoszcz, where it acquainted itself with the large amount of material collected so far containing information about the preparation for and course of the session of the Voivodship People's Council [WRN] on 19 March, 1981, as well as the events which followed. Independently of the criminal investigation, which covers incidents of a criminal nature, the commission checked the authenticity of the material by holding conversations with Sejm deputies, WRN councillors, doctors, officials of the civic militia, personnel of the voivodship office and others. It also gathered documents.

On the first day of its work the commission met representatives of the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] of NSZZ Solidarity. During the meeting, the commission requested that the MKZ of NSZZ Solidarity make available material concerning the course of the events. The commission received only one letter containing ten demands, mainly dealing with personnel changes. On 24 March and on subsequent days, work was carried out to analyze the material and draft the report. As a result of the analysis of the large volume of material and of the conversations held, the commission, focusing its attention on matters that are fundamental for the assessment of the events, established the following:

Events Preceding the Sixth Session of the WRN

The preparation of the WRN session was accompanied by a very tense social-political atmosphere in connection with the sit-in strike, in the building of the ZSL Voivodship Committee in Byogoszcz, by the voivodship strike committee which, on 17 March 1981, reconstituted itself into the all-Polish strike committee of NSZZ Solidarity.

This committee circulated numerous leaflets and spread slogans demanding recognition of the union and implementation of its demands. The strike was actively supported by the MKZ of the NSZZ Solidarity in Bydgoszcz. The preparation for participation in the WRN session by representatives of Solidarity was prededed by the MKZ of NSZZ Solidarity, which involved the publication of leaflets. Telex messages were sent to major industrial enterprises, inviting representatives of workforces to take part in the session between the hours of 1400 and 1500, and informing them that the agenda for the session envisaged the assessment of the social and legal position of agriculture and of individual farmers, as well as the supply of food to the nation, in light of the present situation in the country.

The agenda for the session in no way envisaged the discussion of such an item.

In the assessment of the voivodship authorities, the attempt to introduce these issues into the debate was obviously linked with the tense situation that had arisen in view of the sit-in strike at the ZSL building. In an effort to prevent the possible threat to public order that might have arisen as a result of people gathering around the voivodship office building, on the day before the WRN session, the voivodship authorities suggested to representatives of the Solidarity MKZ that a rebroadcast of the debate at the WRN session be arranged in a vast enclosed hall where members of workforces from major industrial enterprises could gather. This proposal was not accepted. Under these circumstances, and in view of the anticipated mass gathering in front of the voivodship office building, the voivodship reinforced the forces of public order. Following a meeting between the WRN Presidium and representatives of the MKZ of NSZZ Solidarity, six written invitations were issued to members of Solidarity to attend the session. However, 30 people arrived in the hall where the session was held, including 21 members of the MKZ, 5 of their advisers on agricultural affairs and other members of Solidarity.

The Course of the Sixth WRN Session

The sixth WRN session began at 1000 in the voivodship office conference hall. It was envisaged that the main item for discussion would be the social economic plan and the Bydgoszcz Voivodship budget for 1981, as well as a decision on the candidacy for the post of Bydgoszcz voivoda. The session's agenda also envisaged adoption of the WRN work plan for 1981, the voivoda's replies to questions from councillors and any other business.

Opening the debate of the sixth session, the WRN chairman presented the agenda which was accepted by councillors without any observations. At the same time the chairman informed the councillors about the dispatch to major industrial enterprises in Bydgoszcz of a telex message and a [word indistinct] agenda of the debate, which was at variance with the invitation to the session received hy the representatives of the MKZ Solidarity. The WRN chairman drew attention to the fact that the contents of the telex message might create an impression that a subject referred to in the telex message was to be introduced into the discussion at the session and that the invitation of Solidarity members from many industrial enterprises might lead to disturbances in the work of the WRN and affect the order of the debate.

After hearing a large number of questions proposed by the councillors and after recording a positive attitude to the candidatures for the post of Bydgoszcz voivoda, the council began discussion of the main item on the agenda, that is, the examination of the 1981 plan and budget of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship. The draft of the plan and budget was commented upon by the chairman of the commission of economic development and the employment of resources. He proposed a motion to the effect that, in view of the large number of councillors' questions which could affect various aspects of the plan and budget, and taking into account that the councillors received too late the material containing the program of supplying resources for implementing the plan and the 10-point program of the premier of People's Poland concerning the territory of Bydgoszcz Voivodship, this issue be postponed until sufficient documentation has been completed and discussed in the committees. The WRN chairman put to a vote the motion on winding up the first part of the debate, which the council passed with four abstentions.

At 1545 the chairman closed the debate thanking all councillors and invited guests for attending the first part of the session. The chairman announced that the date of the next meeting of the interrupted session would be decided by the WRN Presidium.

The justification of the motion proposed by the chairman of the commission of economic development and employment of resources was convincing. Taking into account the importance of the problems involved, the merits of the contents of the question and the change at the post of Bydgoszcz voivoda, there was indeed a need for a period of time to enable these important issues to be reexamined in the WRN committees and to make it possible for the councillors to prepare for the discussion of the plan and budget for 1981 in a proper and thorough manner. It must be stated, however, that the closure of the debate for these reasons and the prevention of the discussion of the remaining items of the agenda had an element of surprise for some of the councillors, and particularly for Solidarity's representatives. The WRN chairman, in closing the debate, failed to rise to the occasion, which greatly affected the course of events after the closure of debate.

(?Although) it had been previously agreed that Solidarity's representatives would speak in the any other business section of the debate on the subject of the situation in agriculture, the concluding speech by the WRN chairman lacked even an assurance that Solidarity's representatives would be able to speak and present their views on the issues concerned at the next meeting of the sixth WRN session.

Events After the Interrupted Debate of the WRN Session

After the interruption of the sixth WRN session [words indistinct] a group of some 45 councillors and also the representatives of Solidarity remained in the session hall.

Citizen Rulewski, chairman of the MKZ Solidarity, complained that Solidarity representatives were misled because in the preparatory talks before the session the WRN Presidium pledged that they would be allowed to speak at the session. The stopping of the session and the sharp reaction from the MKZ leader constituted the basic phase of the conflict which dragged on for about 7 hours. The statements of the Solidarity representatives contained accusations that the voivodship administration--above all the WRN chairman, Berger--were trying to manipulate the situation. This also involved Deputy Voivoda Bak and Deputy Premier, I beg your pardon, Deputy Chairman Mach. Accusations were also made that the councillors did not adopt a correct attitude.

The commission has stated that the councillors who remained in the room made serious efforts to relieve the tension, among other things, by making a suggestion that the second part of the session be convened as an extraordinary session in 7 days. They also gave guarantees that all representatives of MKZ Solidarity would be invited to that session. This applied to all the MKZ representatives taking part in the 19 March session according to the register of those present. It would also be an integral part of the session that MKZ Solidarity representatives would be allowed to speak. These efforts by a group of councillors, aimed at reducing the conflict, ended, after many hours, in the signing of a joint communique in which the representatives of MKZ Solidarity approved the attitude of the group of councillors. In the communique, the MKZ Solidarity demanded, at the same time, that serious conclusions be drawn regarding those guilty of the conflict which arose at the sixth session and they protested against the presence of the people's militia [MO] organs, which, at that time, had been called to enter the conference room. Having signed the joint communique, some of the councillors hoped to resolve the conflict without the intervention of the forces of law and order and hoped that the Solidarity representatives would leave the WRN room.

Despite the fact that both sides signed a communique, Solidarity's representatives failed to leave the hall. Even beforehand, one could notice facts which proved that the Solidarity representatives intended to commence a sit-in strike in the hall. This could have seriously exacerbated the situation in the town. This brought the administrative authorities to the decision regarding the use of the forces of order.

This decision was, to a significant extent, influenced by the fact that more and more citizens, reaching a number of between 1,200 and 1,500 persons, were assembling in front of the WRN building.

After a few attempts to persuade Solidarity's representatives to leave the hall, made by Deputy Voivoda Bak, and subsequently by the prosecutor sent to the building, the decision was taken to call the forces of order. The legal basis of this decision cannot be called into question if one takes into consideration the fact that the discussion, taking place in a tense atmosphere after the proceedings had been declared closed, lasted some 7 hours--from 1345 to about 2030. The local authorities were convinced they were facing a threat of the conference hall in the WRN building being occupied.

Recognition of the legality of the decision to use the forces of order cannot be viewed as complete approval for the form and effectiveness of the means used beforehand to resolve the conflict in a different way.

It should be pointed out that a number of councillors, present in the hall at the time, expressed the conviction that not all the possibilities for resolving the conflict without the participation of the forces of order had been exhausted. It cannot be ruled out that further attempts at persuasion could have convinced those present to leave the WRN building. However, at the same time, it should be borne in mind that further delay in the decision to use the forces of order, in a situation where a large number of people were assembled in front of the building, could have made the conflict even more drastic and dangerous.

This decision was taken, without a doubt, in an atmosphere of tension, following many hours of waiting until Solidarity's representatives obeyed the call, based on the law, to leave the building.

Under such conditions, the activities of functionaries in power are always subject to a certain margin of error, as far as the basic assessment of the situation is concerned.

Bearing in mind all the circumstances, in their entirety, the commission believes that there are no grounds for calling into question the legality of the decision to use the forces of order.

The Action of the Forces of Order

Intervention took place once the Solidarity representatives present at the hall had been warned by the regional prosecutor that if the premises were not vacated, despite the demand from an authorized person, this would constitute a violation of the penal code.

The militia major, who was commanding the forces of law and order, led the militia functionaries into the conference room of the voivodship office, having received assurances from the voivoda that such intervention was essential.

After leading the unit into the room at 1910, the MO major called on Citizen Rulewski and other Solidarity representatives to leave the WRN office of their own free will. He appealed for nonresistance in order not to make the performance of his duties more difficult. After several unsuccessful calls to leave the building, he considered (?it essential) to (?obey orders). Since a group of councillors and Solidarity representatives were still debating and working out a communique, after consulting the voivoda, the MO commander led the functionaries out of the conference room. It should be stressed that the time allocated to work out the communique was extended several times.

At about 2030, the removal of Citizen Rulewski and other Solidarity representatives from the WRN conference hall began. After the MO reentered the hall, it became obvious that those called upon to vacate the conference room had no intention of doing so. The manner in which they were removed from the hall was a result of the behavior of Citizen Rulewski and other Solidarity representatives. The men linked arms, thus creating a chain, this created a state of organized resistance. The event was further dramatized by screams of "get the women into the middle" and the singing of the national anthem.

The MO functionaries broke up the circle and led the Solidarity representatives out of the building, through the door which leads to the fenced inner courtyard, which is the side entrance to the WRN. Some people left the room without resisting, others resisted. Therefore, they were brought out by force.

There is no doubt that the functionaries who intervened did not carry firearms, clubs, helmets or tear gas. An evaluation of the degree and nature of force used while removing people from the WRN office is very difficult. There is nothing to indicate that anyone was beaten up inside the room or that more than the essential amount of force was used to lead people out.

What is most difficult is to determine the course of events that took place outside the hall where the proceedings were held. This is because these events took place in the evening in a small courtyard where, at that time, some 100 people were crowded.

There is no doubt that three persons, Rulewski, Labecki and Bartoszczak, were injured as a result of the events that took place in Bydgoszcz. It is the position of the commission that medical opinions concerning the extent of the injuries does not provide grounds to assert that these injuries were self-inflicted.

It transpires from the information given to the commission by a doctor, a member of NSZZ Solidarity who was in the group of persons being removed from the hall, that Rulewski was being hit by persons in civilian clothes. It should be taken into account that irrespective of whether the above-mentioned persons received their injuries at the hall, where the proceedings took place, or outside that hall, the injuries were connected with the fact that the forces of order went into action. Assuming that bodily harm was inflicted at the courtyard, once people had been led out of the hall--and all available sources point to that--the forces of order, which were in full control of the courtyard, had a duty to protect the people who had been led out of the hall against the possibility of being beaten up or even against a form of provocation.

Thus regardless of whether or not the persons who were responsible for the injuries to the victims formed a part of the forces of order, they [the forces of order] were responsible for the direct consequences of carrying out the operation right up until its end.

The State of Injuries of the Victims

On the basis of an extract from the log kept at the first aid department and conversations with Dr (Hausinger) who telephoned for an ambulance for the injured patient Rulewski and on conversations with Drs Kozlowski and (Kurek), it must be assumed that all the victims, Rulewski, Bartoszczak and Labecki, were taken for first aid from the house at 5 Marchlewski Street where NSZZ Solidarity has offices.

It follows from the statement by voivodship medical officer, Doctor (Dlugowecki), that in Bydgoszcz health services that are administered by the voivodship authorities and the Ministry of Communications rendered medical assistance on 19 March 1981 to the three above-mentioned injured persons, who were placed in the voivodship hospital named after the 30th anniversary of Bydgoszcz. The ambulance service, medical institutions and outpatients clinics rendered assistance to no other persons in connection with the incidents into which the inquiry was made. On the basis of the medical statements following the examination carried out on 19 March 1981 at the aforementioned hospital it must be accepted that in the case of Jan Rulewski the following injuries were established: contusion to the face, concussion, bruises in the area of the right jaw and the upper lip and a contusion to the left thigh. In the case of Mariusz Labecki, evidence of a contusion to the face and a concussion were established. Michal Bartoszczak had contusions to the skull and ribs. He also showed symptoms indicating injuries to the brain tissue, a post-traumatic condition and weakness [words indistinct]. The condition of the first two patients was at the time described as good but Bartoszczak's condition was assessed as serious.

A subsequent examination carried out on 20 March 1981 by a team of specialists from the Warsaw Academy of Medicine showed the following results:

Rulewski--Post-traumatic condition, damage to the skin and bruises under the skin in the area of the nostrils and the left arm and leg. In view of the suspected concussion it was decided that the patient required a stay in hospital under observation for 7-10 days.

Labecki--Post-traumatic condition, a surgically dressed wound on the skin of the left cheeck, hemmorrhage in the area of the eyelid of the left eye. An interview disclosed a brief loss of consciousness. The treatment prescribed involved resting in bed and medical observation for 7 days.

Bartoszczak--Post-traumatic condition. Medical observation led to the suspicion of the formation of a clot in a vessel on the left side of the brain. An interview indicates that the patient might have suffered from an infarct of the heart muscle as well as a bruise and damage to the skin in the area behind the ear and on the neck on the right side. It was decided that the age and general condition of the patient required [word indistinct] examinations and hospital treatment. The patient agreed to a transfer to the neuro-surgery clinic of the Warsaw Academy of Medicine.

On 24 March 1981 the state of health of the patients was as follows:

Rulewski--Opinion issued with the participation of consultants Professor (Bacznia), Assistant Professor (Bininski) and Doctor Piotrowski from Warsaw--general condition: good, the temporary disturbance of the nervous system had disappeared and a electro-encephalographical examination showed no change. The patient suffered from the so-called post-traumatic syndrome after the brain concussion. The patient requires further hospital treatment.

Labecki--Opinion given by the team indicated in point [words indistinct]--general condition: good, the patient is beginning to walk and suffers no discomfort. The surface lacerations of the skin are healing. An eye examination disclosed a slight shift of the lens of the left eye downwards and backwards. The condition does not require extensive specialist treatment but the patient must remain under observation, initially in a hospital.

Bartoszczak--Opinion of the neurosurgery clinic of the Warsaw Academy of Medicine: During the stay in the clinic the patient has shown improvement in his general conditions. The patient feels well and the lack of control in the right arm and leg is receding. The patient complains of general debility, dizziness and tires easily during conversation and after reading. Additional routine examinations showed no deviations. The brain cortex liquid is correct. Chest x-rays showed no change. X-rays of the skull and spine showed no change. Examination [words indistinct] produced normal results. Computer-based investigation showed the pattern of the central nervous system to be normal for the age of the patient. A general assessment indicates improvement but also the fact that the main discomfort results from the consequences of contusions to the head.

Conclusions

The commission believes that events in Bydgoszcz deserve to be deplored. In such a difficult period the conduct of all citizens, of public and professional organizations and of the organs of the state, in accordance with the principles of law and order is an indispensable ingredient in the process of socialist renewal and of normalization of life in the country.

The commission believes that the events in Bydgoszcz cannot, to any extent, adversely affect the general assessment of the conduct of the state organs with regard to NSZZ Solidarity. This is most clearly testified to by the fact that ever since July 1980 political methods have been used in settling disputes.

Even if in sporadic cases there was a need to use the forces of law and order of the MO, as was in the case for example in Nowy Sacz and Ustrzyki Dolne, these cases presented no questions of a legal nature.

There was no resistance by the people against whom the intervention was applied and thus this encouraged legal behavior by the forces of law and order.

The commission points out that there exists a need for the government to express a firm resolve to clarify all circumstances of the case and to take action against persons guilty of illegal actions during events in Bydgoszcz. Judicial procedures should be completed as soon as possible.

The commission supports a demand made by MKZ of NSZZ Solidarity that the investigation of Bydgoszcz events should be conducted by the voivodship prosecutor's office under the supervision of the Prosecutor General's Office. In accordance with the law, the participation of legal representatives of the victims should be ensured.

The injuries sustained during the events in Bydgoszcz indicate that people in charge of law enforcement forces have a specific duty to protect themselves against all contingencies which can occur during such an operation. The need exists to investigate whether orders and regulations, currently in force in this respect, are sufficient.

The minister of internal affairs, regardless of the investigations being conducted by the voivodship prosecutors office, should initiate an explanatory procedure [postepowanie wyjasniajace] on the activity of the MO organs, in connection with the events, in 2 weeks time at the latest and to submit the results to the chairman of the Council of Ministers.

The government commission has expressed full approval for the activity of councillors of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council who demand to hold the second part of the 6th session of the voivodship People's Council as soon as possible. Proposals and conclusions resulting from the session of the voivodship People's Council should be used to explain the sources of the conflict and to establish closer cooperation in order to overcome difficulties and restore normal work in Bydgoszcz Voivodship.

The tense social situation, as shown by events in Bydgoszcz, indicates the need for thorough preparations for all public meetings so that infringements in their conduct will not become the cause of sharp conflicts which are difficult to prevent. General efforts are indispensable to enhance public behavior. In view of the above it is also advisable to ask National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity to instruct the representatives of the union to observe, in accordance with the principles of social coexistence, their methods of expressing views in public.

According to the commission it is advisable for the government to tell KKP of NSZZ Solidarity that actions aimed at the occupation of public buildings constitute a violation of the law and go beyond protest methods defined in the statute of NSZZ Solidarity. The commission considers it indispensable that the government should undertake actions, with the cooperation of KKP and NSZZ Solidarity and other union and social organizations, aimed at defining indispensable preventive steps in order to prevent events similar to those in Bydgoszcz.

The commission considers it necessary to confirm the need for general and consistent observance of the constitutional principles of law.

Solidarity Response to Findings

LD290040 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Mar 81

["Full text of remarks" [uwagi] of the delegation of the National Consultative Commission of NSZZ Solidarity on the 28 March communique of the Polish government commission investigating the 19 March events in Bydgoszcz--read by announcer]

[Text] Having familiarized themselves with the report by the government commission set up to investigate the events that took place in the building of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council [WRN] on 19 March of this year, representatives of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of Solidarity state the following:

The presentation of the course of events and the evaluation contained in the report require a number of corrections and amplifications. Here are some of the most (?difficult) ones. The conclusions [ustalenia] of the government commission pertaining to the events that preceeded the WRN session require the following corrections:

The NSZZ Solidarity supported the strike committee of the NSZZ Rural Solidarity particularly in the sense that both of these groups insisted that the voivodship authorities resolve as speedily as possible the conflict connected with the occupation of the ZSL building in Bydgoszcz Voivodship.

The inclusion in the agenda of the problem of assessing the sociolegal situation of individual farmers and of providing food supplies for the nation--in light of the current situation in the country--could not have taken anyone by surprise. This topic had been brought to the attention of the WRN presidium. It was precisely for the purpose of outlining this problem that the delegation of the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] of Solidarity in Bydgoszcz was invited to attend the WRN session.

The public nature of this session authorized the MKZ to call on certain Solidarity factory organizations, which were interested in the socially vital problem of food supplies, to send their representatives as observers at the proceedings.

This type of behavior by the MKZ was completely within the statutory framework of the work of the trade union and could not justify the strengthening of the forces of public order. [Passage indistinct] on 19 March of this year at 1345 was not the result of voting by the council on its motion to close the first part of the debates but an arbitrary decision made by the chairman. The voting at the WRN session was concerned only with the motion of adjourning discussion on the plan and the budget. Only one more item remained on the agenda. The closing of the session constituted the breaking of the agreement which guarantees, within the framework of [words indistinct] the problem of farmers put forward by NSZZ Solidarity representatives. Thus, the MKZ was justified in protesting on this matter. The working out and issuance of an appropriate communique, as far as possible with the participation of some WRN councillors, was necessary to satisfy public opinion and thus to prevent a further increase in tension.

The drafting of the communique went on for about 6 hours, primarily because of the difficulties created by voivodship authorities. Deputy Voivoda Przybylski repeatedly tried to interfere in the preparation of the Solidarity communique. Councillors were summoned to a separate room, Room 145, including members of the working group drafting the joint communique.

Serious difficulties were also caused by the intervention of the regional prosecutor and then by members of the people's militia [MO], who urged those present to leave the hall and who also announced various specified times for the completion of the communique.

The statement in the report which says that the final intervention by the MO took place after the signing of the communique does not reflect the truth. Solidarity representatives were removed by force from the hall during the signing of the communique. Categorical proof of this is the absence of some signatures.

The report declares that local authorities were convinced they were facing the threat of an occupation of the conference hall in the voivodship building. This belief is not supported by any of the facts. There were no technical preparations for starting an occupation strike [words indistinct] sleeping bags, blankets and so forth.

In these conditions, assumptions about the alleged intention to start an occupation strike constitute the defense adopted by the persons responsible for the situation that was created.

The legal foundations of the decision to call in forces of order to empty the hall must be questioned. This decision was not justified by the discussion which was going on; it was a discussion between WRN councillors with invited representatives of electors. [as heard]

Only the councillors could state when discussion was to end. The fact that they were prevented from carrying out activities connected with fulfilling their social mandate by an official's decision, even one with the rank of deputy voivoda, was wholly impermissible from a legal standpoint. The way in which MO functionaries carried out instructions from Deputy Voivoda Bak constitutes a (?separate) issue. As far as this is concerned, the report by the government commission passes over in silence a number of circumstances which greatly contributed to the exacerbation of the situation.

Thus, it is symptomatic that the final intervention of the forces of public order took place at a moment when the activities of a group of Solidarity representatives which was still in the hall were drawing to an end. Some Solidarity representatives who had previously tried to leave the WRN building of their own free will were prevented from leaving the building. Along with uniformed MO functionaries, a certain number of functionaries in civilian dress were used in the operation. According to eyewitness accounts it was precisely these functionaries who beat Rulewski, Labedowicz and Bartoszek.

This beating took place after the hall was vacated, after the goal of the operation had been achieved. MO functionaries dragged the beaten Rulewski and Labedowics back into the hall. Some concillors witnessed this. (?Subsequently), despite the fact that their condition made immediate medical aid essential, they were carried out from the building via the courtyard and dumped in front of the gate. All of these circumstances may point to a deliberate action aimed at creating an atmosphere of public indignation.

The Bydgoszcz MKZ of the NSZZ Solidarity presented detailed accounts of the true course of events at the WRN session on 19 March to a group of government experts headed by the deputy prosecutor general of People's Poland on 20 March. These accounts are not reflected in the text of the government commission report.

The conclusions formulated in the government commission report call for separate examination. First of all, the behavior of persons responsible for the unjustified interruption of the WRN session, the introduction of the forces of public order and in the ways in which they carried out their actions was very regrettable.

It is difficult to deal with the events in Bydgoszcz in isolation from the cases of attacks by MO members on Solidarity members and on municipal transportation employees in Warsaw. These acts [words indistinct] they also took place in other centers. The conclusions in Points 3-5 of the report are identical with the attitude of Solidarity.

Regarding Points 6 and 7 of the report, we state that the NSZZ Solidarity is consistently aiming at raising the culture of social life by avoiding all means of force, and the best proof of this is the instructions issued by the KKP of the NSZZ Solidarity to regional and enterprise organizations. But we cannot pass over the fact that on the part of the authorities there were no signals addressed to the KKP on the subject of the alleged work of regional authorities in Bydgoszcz during the period, as the report states, of growing social tensions. [sentence as heard]

On the contrary, during the most difficult period of the growing conflict on 19 March, Lech Walesa, the KKP chairman was prevented from making a telephone call to Solidarity representatives in the WRN building. The repeated interventions by Dr Roman Kukulowicz with municipal authorities to resolve the conflict were completely ignored. The KKP delegation deemed correct Point 8 of the conclusions of the government commission report (?regarding) the search for an institutionalized form for the implementation of this proposal.

Regardless of the circumstances pointed out above and the shortcomings, the government commission report constitutes undeniable progress in throwing light on the whole matter and it is regrettable that it was not published earlier as this would have prevented the festering, oppressive propaganda campaign carried out in the official mass media.

The government commission report and the above comments should constitute a starting point for the investigation into this matter. [Solidarity "remarks" are not signed]

This was the full text of the remarks on the KKP delegation of the NSZZ Solidarity on the report of the government commission. The government press spokesman has said, in connection with the view that the report was published to late and some of the opinions and interpretations were contained in the remarks, that it will be necessary to make additional comments on these observations.

Report Publication Postponed

LD272338 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2300 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] The government spokesman has informed us that it has been announced that the report of the government commission set up to investigate the events in Bydgoszcz was to be published today [28 March]. However, this report was presented during the talks between the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the representatives of the NSZZ Solidarity and will be discussed at the next joint session. For this reason it is impossible to publish the report in the press on Saturday.

AFP on Progress

NC272135 Paris AFP in English 2127 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Mar (AFP)--Progress in resolving Poland's latest labor crisis was made today after four hours of talks between the government and leaders of the independent trade union federation Solidarity, a union official reported.

Union sources said the talks at Radziwill Palace focused on the violent police raid at Bydgoszcz, northwest of here, on March 19, that left three Solidarity militants injured and triggered a new wave of unrest.

Andrzej Gwiazda, Solidarity vice president, said that the negotiators spent virtually the whole meeting considering the report on the Bydgoszcz events by Justice Minister Jerzy Bafia. The report is expected to be published tomorrow.

Mr Gwiazda said that the report "appeared to be truthful." He also said that "progress" had been made in the negotiations, which are intended to avert an unlimited general strike beginning Tuesday.

Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who led the government delegation, said that he was "optimistic" and expressed the hope that an agreement would be reached tomorrow when the talks will resume.

The decision to continue the talks tomorrow was made with the agreement of both sides, Mr gwiazda reported, and the postponment was intended to give Solidarity leaders time to study the 13-page Bafia report in depth and prepare their response.

Union negotiators emerged from the meeting smiling and appearing relaxed.

The meeting was postponed yesterday after having been broken off Wednesday. Workers throughout Poland staged a four-hour strike this morning to support their negotiators' demands.

Walesa, Rakowski on 27 Mar Talks

LD272234 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2115 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Interview with Lech Walesa, chairman of the National Consultative Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity, and Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, head of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs, conducted by (Andrezej Zielienski) following the Solidarity-government talks on 27 March in Warsaw--recorded]

[Text] [Question] Mr Chairman, the talks have been adjourned until tomorrow.

[Walesa] Yes, they have been adjourned until tomorrow because the government commission has presented to us an analysis by Mr Bafia on which we must formulate a position after we have familiarized ourselves more closely with the contents. Today we discussed [words indistinct] roughly but we have to study our position more closely. This is why we cannot make any binding [word indistinct] decision (?on this matter) today.

[Question] The talks will be continued tomorrow.

[Walesa] Of course, after all we must arrive at some solution. I hope that we will arrive at solutions with are (?constructive).

[Question] Mr Premier, can I ask you what the government's position is after today's talks? Why were the talks adjourned?

[Rakowski] We made this decision because the other side should, quite correctly, have a chance to discuss and consider this report. I quite simply believe that the adjournment of the talks is a natural matter and I am also convinced that we have to do everything in our power to achieve an agreement, an agreement which will quite simply restore calm in the country and which will [words indistinct] conflict which has arisen. [Words indistinct]

[Question] Will the talks really end tomorrow?

[Rakowski] It quite simply depends if [words indistinct] between us and the Solidarity delegation.

More Rakowski, Walesa Comments

LD280738 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 28 Mar 81

[From the press review]

[Text] TRYBUNA LUDU prints replies concerning the talks between the government and the National Consultative Commission. This is how Mieczyslaw Rakowski described yesterday's round of talks: The talks began with our presentation of the government commission report, which in my opinion is very concise, and which seriously assessed the events in Bydgoszcz. I am sure that the authors of the report spared no effort to reach the truth of what was the actual sequence of events and how they came about. It seems to me, said Mieczyslaw Rakowski, that the importance of the report creates premises [zalozenia] for serious discussion. It does not create premises for generalizations or the manipulation of details. We usually realize that every event has thousands of details. The problem is that we are dwelling on details and not seeing the important parts. However, the authors of the report concentrated on extracting the most important issues and thus formulated the assessment. Naturally, the report contains some details but it mainly concentrates on certain generalities.

Question by TRYBUNA LUDU: Can we assume that the report constitutes a basis for further talks?

M. Rakowski: Undoubtedly. They will be conducted, as announced, today before noon. Both sides agreed not to publish the report on Saturday because it should be discussed beforehand.

Lech Walesa also made statement for TRYBUNA LUDU. Here is what he said: The report made by the commission of Minister Bafia has been given to us. It was not wasted time, but the end is still far away. The most difficult part is still before us. When we get acquainted with the report--our experts are already working on it--we will resume talks on Saturday morning. We realize that people are waiting for results. This goal cannot leave us. An agreement on the Bydgoszcz issue will open for us the road for further talks. We are waiting for ways to settle the issues. How to avert Tuesday's strike? First, by closer positions. Both sides wish to reach an agreement, said Lech Walesa. It is difficult for us to find a common language. We wish to get out of the impasse. We understand the seriousness of the situation. That is all. I think that after the Saturday talks I will be able to say more, Lech Walesa said in conclusion.

Talks Resume 28 Mar

NC281144 Paris AFP in English 1140 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Mar (AFP)--The government and the Solidarity trade union resumed talks today shortly after 12:15 p.m. (1115 GMT), union sources said.

As Solidarity leader Lech Walesa arrived for the talks, he told reporters that he was scheduled to meet Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski at 5 p.m. (1600 GMT).

Talks End

NC281439 Paris AFP in English 1436 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Mar (AFP)--Talks today between the Polish Government and the Solidarity trade union ended shortly after 3 p.m. (1400 GMT) and will resume next Monday, a union source said. The talks at Radziwill Palace here had begun slightly after 12:15 p.m. (1115 GMT).

The union source added that in the meantime, a mixed working group is to meet tomorrow (Sunday). He called the atmosphere of today's talks "good."

Solidarity vice-president Andrzej Gwiazda said that the adjournment of the talks "absolutely does not mean that they have reached an impasse." He added that today's session considered various union demands in addition to its call for punishment of those responsible for the beating of union leaders at Bydgoszcz, 240 kms (150 miles) northwest of here, on March 19.

Meanwhile, the Polish radio reported that Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who headed the government delegation at the talks, had received delegations from the Bydgoszcz municipal and regional councils.

According to the radio, the delegations expressed their "positions" on the March 19 incident and handed over "documents" concerning the affair. Mr Rakowski told the delegations that he would "take the documents into account."

Several union officials were injured, three of them sufficiently to require hospitalization, by police and militiamen who expelled labor militants from the Bydgoszcz regional council offices.

Rakowski Interview, KKP Statement

LD281904 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Another meeting of the delegation of the National Consultative Commission of NSZZ Solidarity, led by Lech Walesa, with the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs, led by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, took place today in the palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw, at Krakowskie Przedmiescie. Here is what I recorded on my tape recorder immediately after the end of the meeting, when I asked Deputy Premier Rakowski for an interview:

[Begin recording] [Question] Mr Premier [as heard], the fourth round of talks has ended. So may I ask you for a few words on the meeting?

[Answer] I think that certain effects are already visible. Today we discussed the report presented by Bafia's commission and in the course of this exchange of views we arrived at some (?convergence) of views.

[Question] Not fully, but at least...

[Answer] It is obvious that the other side too is appreciating the seriousness of the moment and that they are ready for some kind of compromise, the framework of which, I think, will be outlined during the hours which separate us from the next meeting, which will be on Monday. I personally count on the matter being completely settled on Monday. Thus this conflict, which is not needed by anyone, will end.

[Question] Mr Premier, is it true that working teams have been set up to deal with the matter?

[Answer] Two such working teams have been set up: One will be dealing with the problem of the law on trade unions and the other will deal with several other problems. The organization of these teams, which took place on the initiative of the chairman of Solidarity, Mr Lech Walesa, is an example of the fact that we are searching for a platform for agreements which would satisfy both sides [Words indistinct] moderate.

[Question] So that all Poles would be satisfied with the conclusion of these talks?

[Answer] That is so. We must conclude this matter. This is not a problem which can be locked within some cabinet or in some conference hall. It is a problem of vital interest to all Poles. [end recording]

Late in the afternoon, in the Solec Hotel in Warsaw, [first name indistinct] (Jablonksi), representative of the national information center of NSZZ Solidarity read out a statement by the National Consultative Commission [KKP]:

[Begin (Jablonski) recording] On Saturday 28 March another meeting between the working group of the KKP of NSZZ Solidarity and the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs was held. At the meeting, Solidarity's representatives presented a document which defines Solidarity's position with regard to Minister Bafia's report concerning the Bydgoszcz events. A suggestion was made for both documents to be published at the same time: Minister Bafia's report and Solidarity's remarks on the report.

During the talks Solidarity presented the basic arguments of its position with regard to the Bydgoszcz events. Solidarity's representatives dealt with the matter of the Council of Ministers' resolution concerning pay while on strike. An exchange of opinions resulted in the conclusion that it is necessary to compile together [zestawic] legal provisions of the labor code, guidelines of the trade union bill and the Gdansk agreement and to prepare appropriate decisions.

It was decided to set up a working team which will deal with this matter. A working team to prepare matters for discussion on remaining issues contained in Solidarity's strike demands has also been set up. It has been agreed that the next meeting will take place on Monday. As for the working teams, they will continue to work on Saturday and Sunday.

At 1700 the KKP delegation was received by the primate of Poland.

The KKP delegation reminds all branches of the union and all its members that in the current, extraordinarily tense situation, we shall have to be cautious, responsible and show union discipline. In particular what we appeal for is for Solidarity to remain completely calm throughout today and tomorrow, not to permit itself to be drawn into any uncontrolled actions or public demonstrations.

[Signed] The working team of KKP, Warsaw, 28 March 1981 [end recording]

In accordance with the earlier announcement, the talks will be continued next Monday. Let us hope that this conflict will, at long last, be resolved.

Rakowski Expresses Optimism

LD282134 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Interview with Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, head of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs, conducted by unidentified reporter in Warsaw on 28 March--recorded]

[Text] [Question] The sixth day of talks between the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the delegation of the National Consultative Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity has ended. The fourth round of talks has just been completed. Mr Premier, may I ask you a personal question?

[Answer] By all means.

[Question] How do you feel after the end of the talks?

[Answer] After the end of today's talks I feel rather well. In other words, it seems to me that a possibility is opening for a conclusion to this conflict, that is, we are closer to a conclusion rather than farther from it. Yet, taking things as a whole, I must say that I have not felt so well during recent days.

[Question] But your remarks a moment ago suggest that this is not due to the way in which the talks have developed?

[Answer] No, it is not a question of the course the talks have taken. In general, today, I was more preoccupied with yesterday. I have been thinking about the warning strike which again meant a loss for the Polish national economy amounting to some Z10 billion in lost production. What occurred to me was the fact that on the one hand the Jaruzelski government hears that we, shall we say, support it, that all of us support it, and then we all go on strike. Somehow I cannot see a connection here, a connection between a declaration which General Jaruzelski needs and practical deeds.

It seems to me that the paramount issue today is to express this support through work and not with strikes. [Words indistinct] even if somebody tried to see in these strikes other motivations, important ones, significant (?in his opinion), then in view of the condition of the state and taking into account the efforts made by the government of General Jaruzelski, I think the most important matter is, after all, to maintain steady work wherever possible and to maintain discipline. Otherwise we will simply drift in the direction of some economic disaster, in fact we are not very far away from it.

I spoke to the general, the premier, who is my chief and he was slightly surprised--perhaps more than slightly surprised--by the fact that (?he had heard appeals for work) and declarations of support and yet the strike occurred, which, as I have already said, brought such enormous losses. This is the reason why I feel rather [words indistinct]

Rakowski Backs System Change

NC281708 Paris AFP in English 1655 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Mar (AFP)--Polish Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski has come out for a "modification of the socialist system" that would permit Poland to take an authentically new road, according to an interview published in today's issue of ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

According to that Warsaw daily's text, appearing on the eve of an important Polish Communist Party Central Committee meeting tomorrow, the deputy premier suggested that "the structures (of the socialist system) be adapted to the current level of the tools of production, to the new spirit of the Poles and to the new organizational structures recently created in this country," a reference to the Solidarity union confederation.

Mr Rakowski, who has been charged by the cabinet with special responsibility for relations with the unions, said this view, of which he declared himself a "convinced supporter," was meeting with quite a lot of opposition because of the conservative and bureaucratic mentality of "a part of officialdom" in the nation.

Mr Rakowski more specifically lashed out at certain people "who returned to power after an eclipse without having learned a thing" but who nevertheless consider themselves "infallible."

"I know political figures," Mr Rakowski continued, "who in private will give heated speeches in defense of firm principles who have not set foot in a factory for months."

Under current Polish conditions, the deputy premier said, no politician "has any chance whatever to succeed or realize his ambitions" if he is not keeping up "real contact" with the working class.

To Mr Rakowski, the Solidarity union is "a social mass organization" that must be treated as "a partner" and with which one must discuss seriously if anything is to be achieved.

"No one can fight against a movement that is supported by millions" of people, the official added.

He expressed concern however with the exixtence within both the power structure and Solidarity of "extremist forces" that could lead the country towards the abyss if they were to take over.

Despite the current tenseness in the country, Mr Rakowski concluded, there continued to be "prospects for agreement" with Solidarity on a basis of compromise.

Call to End 'Extreme Views'

LD280940 Warsaw PAP in English 0836 GMT 28 Mar 81

[From the press review; all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Mar (PAP)--ZYCIE WARSZAWY carries an interview with Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Excerpts:

Q: Has your attitude to Solidarity changed after you became a government member?

A: No. I can see what this is all about. My last public statement--in fact it was the last-but-one--concerning Solidarity, was to criticize the authorities, Rakowski said, meaning his article about respecting the partner.

At present "I can see more clearly that there also are forces within Solidarity which--and this is a natural thing--do not want partnership. Thus, my attitude towards Solidarity as a social movement, a mass [word indistinct] union movement or a mass social movement is the same as it was. I still think that one cannot wrestle with a movement which is supported by millions," Rakowski said.

Speaking about the current talks, Rakowski said: "When we talk my Solidarity partners [word indistinct] the point and make declarations. These declarations usually centre on what has happened what kinds of mistakes my party has made. Even Lech Walesa counted out all the successive renewals. I listen to this and I have to control my impatience. I understand this, but I know that declarations of this kind, this finger-jabbing, does nothing to move any issue further along. But I say to myself: You cannot help it, this needs time, these are my partners.

Asked about whether the force which Solidarity represents carries the potential to lead the country out of the present difficult situation, Rakowski said:

"Of course I do. Only I want to say that I have seen certain issues become hardly solvable sore spots by now. There is little breathing space left to undertake actions aimed at leading this movement onto the path of creative cooperation."

Rakowski went on to say: "We are going through a huge breakthrough, deep conflicts, conflicts of conscience, attitudes, where people and structures change and adjust.

"Our conversation is taking place in a hot atmosphere. But there are prospects, there is a possibility for agreement. Therefore, I am firmly sticking to my view that what we need is a compromise in every situation, every field. It is also necessary now. It is possible to achieve, providing that both sides will be ready to meet halfway.

What I mean is simply that no policy holding extreme views in majority has any chance, and it does not matter whose side it is on. The drama lies in that certain facts create a favorable atmosphere for the consolidation of extreme tendencies and attitudes in our country. I am afraid tha these extreme views are beginning to take over. If this happened, there would be no way out. Thus, the chief aim now is limiting extremes down to a minimum.

Working Groups Organized

NC281939 Paris AFP in English 1933 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Mar (AFP)--Government and union negotiators agreed today to set up two mixed working groups that will meet at 10 a.m. tomorrow to examine two principal workers' demands, a union source said.

One of the working groups will consider the independent union federation Solidarity's demand that persecution of dissidents be ended and that prisoners held on charges of concerning expression of opinion be freed, the source said. The second group will study the union's call for the abolition of an anti-strike decree promulgated last month. The decree provides that workers' pay be suspended incases of "political strikes."

According to the union source, both sides moved closer to agreement on ways of dealing with the incident that touched off the country's current social crisis, the March 19 beating of labor militants by police and militiamen at Bydgoszcz, northwest of here.

Union participants in today's negotiations said that the government team gave the impression that concessions would be made and the issue satisfactorily resolved.

Full-scale negotiations were adjouned until Monday. But Solidarity Vice-President Andrzej Gwiazda said that the adjournment did not indicate that the talks had reached an "impasse."

He described the atmosphere at today's session was "good."

Walesa on Strike Odds

LD290005 Warsaw PAP in English 2005 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Mar (PAP)--The Solidarity leader Lech Walesa today sized up the odds against next Tuesday's general strike as 80 percent.

In yesterday's interview for the Catholic daily SLOWO POWSZECHNE, published today, Mr Walesa said in reply to the question of whether in his view the strike would go ahead: "I hope not. I guess not."

Asked if the Solidarity would be satisfied today with the arrest of the direct perpetrators of the beating of Solidarity members in Bydgoszcz, Mr Walesa replied: "No. That would no longer be enough. If that had happened straight away, the events that followed might have rolled on a different course."

Groups Work 29 Mar

LD202200 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] In keeping with the agreements reached during yesterday's round of talks between the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs and a delegation of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of NSZZ Solidarity, two working groups today carried out their work in accordance with their instructions.

Deliberations extended until late in the evening and will be continued tomorrow. Another meeting between the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs and a delegation of the KKP of NSZZ Solidarity will also be held tomorrow.

Groups' Discussions

NC292030 Paris AFP in English 2023 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Mar (AFP)--Polish authorities and leaders of the Independent Trade Union Federation Solidarity will resume tomorrow their talks aimed at resolving the country's latest social crisis, a union spokesman announced.

The Polish Government delegation will be led by Vice Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski and the Solidarity contingent by union leader Lech Walesa.

The talks will begin tomorrow at 1000 GMT, the union spokesman said.

The negotiators tomorrow will examine the conclusions of two working groups they agreed to set up yesterday.

One of the groups completed discussions today on the "anti-strike" decree that the independent labor federation objects to and on how a law being drafted on labor unions would affect the farmers' union demanded by the federation. The decree bars paying workers for time lost in political strikes.

The second group was continuing discussions at the cabinet building tonight on federation demands, including an end to prosecution of dissidents, giving unions a voice in the official news media, and a system to guarantee security of trade unions and their members.

Talks Resume 30 Mar

LD301228 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] Another meeting between the Council of Ministers committee for trade union affairs, headed by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, and a delegation of the National Consultative Commission of the NSZZ Solidarity headed by Lech Walesa has begun at the Palace of the Council of Ministers in Warsaw.

The talks have been resumed after the working teams concluded their work yesterday.

Asked by journalists prior to the deliberations about the results of the work of these teams, the heads of both sides responded.

Lech Walesa stated: Positions have become closer, but not to the extent which we expected. That is why today's talks ought to expand what has already been agreed, because we are not satisfied with it.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski stated: In my opinion, the work of these working teams is at the moment of secondary importance. The first matter is to remove the causes which are responsible for this enormous tension in the country as a result of the Bydgoszcz conflict.

Today I personally attach more weight to what will happen in the hall in a moment than to working teams, although, of course, I am not saying that they are unimportant.

Tension, expectations and hope: these are the best words to describe the atmosphere today, the mood of people in workplaces and at home throughout the country.

After the 4-hour warning strike which took place 3 days ago, the general strike scheduled for tomorrow constitutes the most important threat of destabilization of life and of immersing the country in chaos.

This strike may have disastrous consequences.

That is why the public awaits the results of today's talks between the NSZZ Solidarity and the government with such enormous hopes, seeing the last chance for resolving the current conflict in these talks.

POLISH PRIMATE RECEIVES WALESA, COMMISSION

LD281816 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] A few minutes after 1700 [1600 GMT] today, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, the primate of Poland, received Lech Walesa and other representatives of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity for a 1-hour audience.

Cardinal Urges 'Moderation'

NC282014 Paris AFP in English 2002 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Mar (AFP)--Polish Primate Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski urged top leaders of the Solidarity union federation to act with "moderation" during a 90-minute meeting here today at the Archbishops Palace, union sources said. Lech Walesa, who headed the labor delegation, refused to disclose the issues discussed during the meeting, which ended at 6:30 p.m. "We were not there all that time without talking," was all he would tell newsmen waiting outside.

Mr Walesa arrived at the palace at 5 p.m., accompanied by Solidarity vice-president Andrzej Gwiazda and Warsaw branch leader Zbigniew Bujak.

Other union officials who had participated in negotiations with government representatives earlier today on the country's current social crisis also attended the meeting with the cardinal.

Stefan Bratkowski, president of the Polish Journalists Association, was also reported to have been present.

Cardinal Wyszynski was understood to have received Deputy Premier Jerzy Ozdowski immediately before meeting with Mr Walesa and the union delegation.

The cardinal was scheduled to celebrate a mass at the Church of St. Anne in the old quarter of the city at 7:30 p.m. He was also expected to deliver a sermon during the liturgy.

SZCZEPANSKI SAYS SOLIDARITY SHOULD BE REGULATED

LD291624 Warsaw PAP in English 1428 GMT 29 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 29 Mar (PAP)--Professor Jan Szczepanski, representative of the Sejm extraordinary committee for supervising the implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie accords and participant in the talks of the government commission with the Solidarity delegation, said this in an interview for PAP:

"I think that both sides have no other alternative but to reach agreement. In my opinion, the foundations for this have already been laid to some extent. The Solidarity and the government are responsible for the situation in Poland. For many months now, the Solidarity has been virtually imposing some economic and political decisions on the government, making it solely responsible for their implementation.

"I believe that in the future one should find some (?form) legalizing and regulating the Solidarity's participation in governing the country. The method of governing and imposing decisions upon the government by strikes cannot give any good results. As soon as this fire is put out, the Sejm extraordinary committee will set to basically solve this issue before the adoption of a trade union law which we want to speed up. The Solidarity's strikes, activity and co-responsibility for what is going on in Poland should not only be virtual but also legally regulated", Szczepanski said.

GROUP OFFERS TO MEDIATE SOLIDARITY-GOVERNMENT TALKS

LD281758 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] With regard to the position adopted by intellectual circles, which has also been expressed in statements by the Presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences and by the consultative committee of creative and scientific associations, a good offices team [zespol dobrych uslug] was established today comprising Professors (Aleksander Gieysztor), (Klemens Szaniawski) and (Andrzej Swieciczki). The team has offered its services to mediate in the talks being conducted by the government and the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity.

OBSERVANCE OF 27 MARCH 4-HOUR STRIKE REPORTED

LD272106 Warsaw PAP in English 2018 GMT 27 Mar 81

["Warning Strike Proceeds Calmly"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Mar (PAP)--Work ground to a halt at very many enterprises from 8 a.m. till noon today as Solidarity called a national warning strike. Despite a state of tension, there was calm, order and an atmosphere of solemnity everywhere. Crews of enterprises which work round the clock, metallurgy [words indistinct] trade, health service and some municipal service worked as usual. The resumption of talks between the government and the leaders of Solidarity and their outcome are awaited with anxious hopefulness. The public mood is that of grave anxiety, gloom and general weariness of the insecure situation, which is compounded by dropping market supplies of staple foods and industrial goods. Queues are growing longer and shop shelves, increasingly empty.

The crews of large enterprises struck in Warsaw. Due to the special kind of production, sympathy with strikers was expressed, but work proceeded as normal at the "Polfa" pharmaceutical works. Lech Walesa visited Warsaw's factories, among them the "Ursus" tractor factory. A strike was staged throughout Bydgoszcz Voivodship. Nearly (?all the enterprises on the Gdansk) coast took part in the protest action. However, work did not stop at some food processing factories and where urgent economic tasks were concerned. At Gdynia's Komuna Paryska shipyard some 300 people worked on a bulk carrier designed for export. The strike was supported by branch unions here.

Due to the specific character of pit work in coal mines, Solidarity there moved the time of warning strike to 6 till 10 a.m. at steel mills, the Firfgas kept burning (?in the) furnaces, and machinery in round-the-clock departments was kept in operation. Work ground to a stop in all production departments of the car factory in Tychy, southern Poland.

The crews of biggest factories struck in Poznan, though work did not stop at factories producing market foodstuffs and several other enterprises. Nearly all work establishments of [word indistinct] voivodship, western Poland and major factories of Pila Voivodship, west-central Poland, took part in the strike. Due to the importance of their work for the future of Polish economy, all crews of oil and gas prospecting rigs proceeded with normal work in Pila Voivodship.

Strike was staged at Szczecin's key industries factories: the shipyard and the port. In accordance with the decision of the strike committee, the crew of the corn elevator in Szczecin port (?did not strike). Ships with French wheat and sugar were unloaded.

SEJM SPRING SESSION OPENS, BEGINS WORK 30 MAR

LD301150 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 30 Mar 81

[Text] We would like to remind our listeners that according to tradition, the Sejm hold two sessions a year: a spring session and an autumn one. Today the spring session opened. This means that the Sejm has begun its work. It does not mean that a plenary session has begun. The date for the next Sejm session will be decided by the Presidium. Radio news bulletins will let the listeners know about this.

CEAUSESCU AWARDS '23 AUGUST' ORDER TO ANDREI

AU281701 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] At a festivity today, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, awarded Comrade Stefan Andrei, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the party Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs, the order "23 August" first class, conferred on him by presidential decree on his 50th birthday and for his contribution to implementing the party-state policy of building the comprehensively developed socialist society in our fatherland.

The award ceremony was attended by Comrade Elena Ceausescu and Comrades Ilie Verdet, Iosif Banc, Emil Bobu, Cornel Burtica, Virgil Cazacu, Lina Ciobanu, Ion Coman, Nicolae Constantin, Ion Dinca, Janos Fazekas, Ludovic Fazekas, Cornelia Filipas, Petre Lupu, Paul Niculescu, Gheorghe Oprea, Gheorghe Pana, Ion Patan, Dumitru Popescu, Leonte Rautu, Aneta Spornic, Virgil Trofin, Stefan Voitec, Emilian Dobrescu, Mihai Gere, Nicolae Giosan, Suzana Gadea, Ion Ionita, Ana Muresan, Elena Nae, Constantin Olteanu, Cornel Onescu, Marin Radoi, Ion Ursu, Richard Winter and Ilie Radulescu.

Comrade Stefan Andrei extended warmest thanks to the party-state leadership and to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu personally, as well as deep gratitude for the high distinction awarded him. The floor was then taken by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu who congratulated the celebrity warmly. The comrades of the party-state leadership also congratulated Comrade Stefan Andrei and wished him good health and great happiness, as well as work energy and new successes in his activity.

The Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee gave a comradely dinner in Comrade Stefan Andrei's honor on his 50th birthday.

Ceausescu Speech

AU281956 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1910 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Report on speech by Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at award ceremony for Foreign Minister Andrei, in Bucharest 28 March 1981]

[Excerpt] Taking the floor on this occasion, Nicolae Ceausescu warmly congratulated the feted and said among other things:

Our party and Socialist Romania have always paid special attention to the questions of international activity. We do this starting from the fact that only in conditions of peace, of broad international collaboration with the socialist countries, with the developing countries, with all the states of the world, irrespective of social system, can we provide the necessary conditions for our people to implement the programme of building the multilaterally developed socialist society.

Under the current international circumstances, it is even more necessary to intensify our activity for the powerful assertion in interstate relations of the principles of fully equal rights, observance of national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, of mutually advantageous collaboration, of resolute renunciation of force and threat of force and unflinching observance of each people's right to free development, in keeping with its will.

We must be even more active in order to contribute to the lessening of international tension, to the settlement of interstate litigious questions, of conflicts by means of negotiations alone. It is particularly necessary to intensify the activity for security and cooperation in Europe, for the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting, so that a fresh impetus be given to the unflinching implementation of the Helsinki-signed documents. In this respect, we consider that, in the ensuing weeks, we must intensify our contacts and talks with all the states participating in this meeting, in order to reach mutual conclusions regarding the need for new actions conducive to detente, collaboration and security in Europe, and, of course, throughout the world.

We must carry on sustained activity so that all the participants in the Madrid meeting reach an agreement on the convening of a conference on confidence-building and disarmament in Europe. I consider that real possibilities exist for convening such a meeting, that it fully meets the interests of the all European peoples and, at the same time, of the entire world.

We must do everything possible so that negotiations start on halting the deployment of new nuclear weapons in Europe. That is why we hailed the proposals of the CPSU general secretary of the as effective, [as received] real contributions of providing conditions for negotiations on disarmament, with a view to convening the conference, and for the settlement of other questions of general interest to all the European peoples and to the whole world. We are duty bound to intensify our efforts in order to contribute to the fulfillment of the tasks set by the twelfth congress, so that our country should make a more sustained contribution to the policy of detente, national independence and peace.

We must more intensely support and participate in the activity carried out by the developing countries, in the efforts made for the establishment of a new international economic order--one of the prerequisites for a policy of peace, detente and national independence--act with all our forces for the continuous expansion of our collaboration with all the countries of the world, laying permanent stress on our relations with the socialist countries, with our neighbours, with the developing countries, with all that declare against the imperialist and colonialist policy, with all the forces that militate for a more just and better world.

Referring to the necessity of strengthening the party, its unity, Nicolae Ceausescu said: The leading cadres, our aktivs, in particular, each and every communist must never forget that the way in which they act, their behaviour bear directly on the prestige the party will enjoy among the people.

In a letter it addressed to the feted, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP assesses that Stefan Andrei makes an important contribution to the sustained promotion of the RCP and the Romanian state foreign policy of broad cooperation with the peoples and advanced forces everywhere for the cause of peace, detente and understanding among nations, for a better and more just world.

The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP gave a lunch in honour of Stefan Andrei.

PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU RECEIVES BAVARIA'S STRAUSS

AU271527 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the republic, today received Franz-Josef Strauss, chairman of the Christian Social Union of the FRG and president of the State of Bavaria, who is on a visit to our country. The meeting was attended by Comrade Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation. (Chris Pirkel), minister of labor in the Bavarian Government, and Michael Jovy, FRG ambassador to Bucharest, were also present.

The president of the State of Bavaria extended, on behalf of the FRG President Karl Carstens, best greetings and wishes to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and stressed the attention the latter pays to developing West German-Romanian relations.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed thanks for the greetings and, in turn, conveyed cordial greetings and best wishes for health to the FRG president.

The guest expressed deep satisfaction with again meeting the head of the Romanian state to continue the exchange of views on developing Romanian-FRG relations and in connection with the latest developments in the international situation. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that the visit of the government president of the State of Bavaria to Romania is a proper opportunity to identify new means of cooperation between Romania and the FRG to the benefit of our countries and peoples.

During the meeting, the two sides stressed both the positive development of cooperation at various levels between Romania and the FRG and the great opportunities that exist in the direction of intensifying that cooperation to the benefit of the two countries. In this context, the two sides examined various fields in which positive prospects exist to develop Romanian-FRG cooperation and to intensify trade exchange and expand scientific-technical cooperation, production sharing and cooperation in third markets. Both sides emphasized that expanding relations of cooperation and collaboration between Romania and the FRG on the basis of respect for the principles of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, equality of rights and mutual advantage serves both the progress of the two countries and peoples and the general cause of detente and peace throughout the world.

During the talk, the two sides also exchanged views on certain international issues. It was jointly agreed that the current international situation is particularly complex owing to the worsening of relations among certain countries and because of certain conflicts and states of tension generating great dangers for the peace and security of all mankind.

Proceeding from those realities, the two sides stressed the need for countries and all political forces to intensify their efforts so that the policy of detente, peace, security and cooperation is resumed and continued on the basis of respect for the principles of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, equality of rights and mutual advantage, nonrecourse to the use or threat of force and on the principle of each people's right to free and independent development.

The two sides also stressed that international peace and security requires that all existing states of tension and conflict be resolved by negotiations and that tangible and urgent measures be adopted to curb the arms race and proceed to disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. Special attention was paid to European security matters both sides stressed that it is currently necessary to take action to lend the current Madrid meeting a positive trend, so that it will end with as good results as possible concerning the uniform implementation of the Helsinki documents and primarily concerning the achievement of real measures for military disengagement and disarmament, without which one cannot conceive of detente, peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

In this context, the two sides stressed the particular importance of intensifying efforts by all countries to achieve progress on the road of preparing and holding a conference on strengthening trust and disarmament on the European continent. Both sides emphasized that it is necessary to make every effort to strengthen cooperation among European countries at a political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural and artistic level.

It was stressed that under current international conditions the European countries must play a more active role and assume greater responsibilities in resolving the problem on which peace and detente on the continent and throughout the world depend. The meeting took place in a cordial atmosphere.

Strauss On Romanian Leadership

LD271332 Hamburg DPA in German 1026 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Excerpt] Bucharest-Munich (DPA)--Bavarian Minister-President Franz Jozef Strauss in Bucharest today praised the Romanian leadership for its "policy of the long view, great stamina, clear awareness of problems, resolute decisions, and prudent action." It has thus made an important contribution to the preservation of peace, Strauss said at the opening of the "Free State Bavaria" exhibition.

Strauss, whose speech was published by the Munich state Chancellery, said that it is a bitter truth that since his "frank and trustful talk" with Ceausescu a year ago not a single international crisis had been resolved. In fact, new sources of crises have been added. Each source harbors the danger of developing into an uncontrollable conflagration.

PRISTINA STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE, CLASH WITH POLICE

AFP Report on Clashes

NC271518 Paris AFP in English 1450 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Belgrade, March 27 (AFP)--Eleven students were hurt yesterday during demonstrations in Pristina, capital of the Autonomous Region of Kosovo whose population is mainly Albanian origin, reliable sources said here today. Clashes with police continued until this morning, the sources said. Several students were arrested after the police intervened to break up students trying to disturb the traditional youth ceremony.

According to the sources the authorities agreed to examine economic claims by the students who had previously demonstrated on March 11 when 50 of them were detained. The first demonstrations were sparked off by the poor quality of meals served up in the university restaurant. At the time there were no victims despite violent clashes between students and police. The authorities have refused to discuss "political" demands concerning "freedom of the press" and the granting of the status of a republic to the Kosovo Autonomous Region, which is part of the Republic of Serbia. Police today evacuated the University of Pristina and made a number of arrests, the sources said.

Student Unrest Continues

LD272110 Hamburg DPA in German 1810 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Excerpt] Pristina, 27 Mar (DPA)--The student unrest in Pristina, the capital of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo in Yugoslavia, inhabited mainly by Albanians, is evidently continuing. After about 10 students were hurt in clashes with police yesterday, students at a university conference in Pristina today insisted on their demands for better social and economic conditions. Several people were reportedly arrested during the clashes with the police, who used tear gas when several hundred students were assembling to stage a protest march through the city center.

LCY President on Demonstrations

LD281422 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1300 GMT 28 Mar 81

["Pristina Condemns Demonstrations"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, 28 Mar (TANJUG)--The young people, students and citizens of Pristina, the capital of Yugoslavia's Autonomous Province of Kosovo, today sharply condemned the demonstrations which took place here twice during this month. They demanded that stricter and more effective measures be taken against the organizers of these actions which were assessed as "nationalistic and hostile."

This was stated at today's session of the presidency of the Socialist Alliance of Pristina which discussed current economic and social problems.

President of the League of Communists organization of Pristina Aslan.Fazlija said that in compliance with the demands of citizens, such action had been taken during the demonstrations of March 26. Fazlija said the demonstrations had been dispersed owing to political activity of members of the university and the action of organs for the protection of law and order.

Twenty-three demonstrators and 12 members of the Service for the Protection of Law and Order are reported to have been injured, none gravely. On March 26, 21 demonstrators were detailed.

Fazlija assessed as tendentious the reports published by some newspapers abroad claiming that there had been a large number of those injured and arrested in the first demonstrations which occurred on March 11. No student was either injured or arrested on that occasion, Fazlija said. It was also stated that similar misinformation about the March 26 demonstrations are being circulated abroad. "Such speculations will have the same fate as all misinformation about our reality," Fazlija said. The session of the city Socialist Alliance Presidency also underlined that involved were attempts "to intensify the activities of internal and external enemies aimed at using current social and economic controversies for activities on a broader front in the country and thus in Pristina too."

Last Thursday's demonstrations were assessed as "hostile, organized and instigated by hostile forces, and aimed at destabilizing and breaking up the unity of our country." As assessed, the hostile nature of the demonstrations was reflected not only in the fact that demonstrations are not a self-management way of dealing with problems. It was also reflected in hostile slogans against the Yugoslav system and unity, which reveals the real objectives of "those forces who directly organized the demonstrations or stood behind them," it was said.

Fazlija said the organizers of the demonstrations had tried unsuccessfully to mislead a number of students by using "demagogic, social and nationalistic slogans, as well as other unscrupulous means ranging from blackmail and deceit, to threats."

The attempts to draw a larger number of students into demonstrations failed, it was stated today. It was noted that the overwhelming majority of students were aware of the fact that the University of Pristina had become one of the three largest universities in Yugoslavia in only 10 years. This rapid development was assessed as reflecting a need for "the overall development of Kosovo and advancement of national equality." At present, 48,000 students are enrolled at the University of Pristina, which is twice the number of students in the whole of prewar Yugoslavia on the eve of the Second World War.

It was noted that such a rapid and successful development was unprecedented in the entire history of university in general. But it was also noted that the students themselves were aware of the fact that such a rapid development of the University of Pristina had created some problems related to the standard of living "on the settlement of which we are all working," Fazlija said.

"We have therefore rejected and we shall always reject any anti-selfmanagement form of bringing political pressure to dealing with problems and any nationalistic and hostile speculation and demagogy," Fazlija said. He called for the "further strengthening of brotherhood and unity and for a struggle against Albanian, Serbian or any other nationalism and against any hostile tendency."

Further LCY President Remarks

LD290826 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Summary] At its session today the Presidium of the Municipal Conference of the Pristina Socialist Alliance analyzed the implementation of tasks involving the stabilization of the economy and solutions to some of the topical socioeconomic problems in the municipality.

Taking part in the debate, Aslan Fazlija, president of the conference of the Pristina League of Communists, said that stabilization of the economy was the most important task of all subjective forces in the municipality. "Turning to the demonstrations by a group of students at the student center on 11 and 26 March, Fazlija described them as hostile, organized and instigated by hostile forces. He described them as part of the general hostile trend aimed at destabilizing and breaking up our country's unity. He stressed that measures would be undertaken to improve the students' standard of living.

"He also noted that every anti-selfmanagement form of political pressure aimed at solving problems and every act of nationalistic and hostile speculation would always be rejected."

More on Student Demonstrations

NC281241 Paris AFP in English 1227 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Mar (AFP)--Twenty-three demonstrators and 12 police were hurt during demonstrations on Thursday in Pristina, capital of the Yugoslav Autonomous Region of Kosovo, local Communist League Chairman Aslan Fazlija said today. Mr Fazlija, in the first official confirmation of the demonstrators, criticized "nationalism" slogans shouted by students, earlier reported to have called for more political and press freedom, and improvements in their conditions. The political demands included republic status for Kosovo, an autonomous region in the Republic of Serbia with a population of mainly Albanian origin.

TANJUG REPORTS ON, ASSESSES POLISH SITUATION

LD282042 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1616 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 28 Mar (TANJUG)--The talks between the Polish Government and the "Solidarity" trade union were continued here today in an atmosphere which offers considerable optimism concerning the quest for a mutually acceptable solution to the situation in the country. Law and order reign in the country although general tension is still present.

Deputy Prime Minister and Government Committee for Cooperation With Trade Unions President Mieczyslaw Rakowski, the head of the delegation to the talks, (?today said to ZYCIE WARSZAWY), that he firmly maintains the stand that compromise (?is) necessary.

"Solidarity" delegation head Lech Walesa said that both sides wish to reach agreement. Walesa told the workers of the Warsaw iron and steel works: "We must not allow to be pushed into any kind of adventure. If we must strike, although I believe that the general strike will be (?called) off, then that must be done in compounds of factories and we should by no means go out into the streets. If a fratricidal struggle occurs then really only a third party could separate us."

Reports released by the press today and information of the "Solidarity" itself, as the organizer and initiator of the "warning strike" show that the action, more than ever then [as received] in similar occasions, confirmed the mass and consistent attachment of the Polish working class (including a large number of party members) precisely to this newly founded trade union organization.

"I further maintain that one cannot wrestle and grapple with a movement that has got millions of (?workers)," Rakowski said. He also urged a partnership relation with "Solidarity."

There is a notable optimism in the final outcome of the talks between the government and "Solidarity" regardless of whether [word indistinct] (?will be closed). Observers assess the above as a good sign also before the special Central Committee session tomorrow which is to, as announced, discuss the situation in the country.

Observers here are convinced that the Central Committee session will be of exceptional significance for the further course of developments in the country.

Satisfaction of the working class over the implementation of the proclaimed program of socialist reconstruction has all the time been very pronounced even in the press and radio and television programs.

Cites Soviet Press

LD271726 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1645 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Moscow, 27 Mar (TANJUG)--"If Solidarity declares war upon the popular rule, it will declare war upon itself, its families and upon millions of people in Poland," warn almost all principal Soviet papers today, including PRAVDA.

Stressing that the situation in Poland is still extremely tense, the Soviet press writes that the leaders of the antisocialist and anti-Polish orgnization KOR (the Committee for Social Self-Defence), who are giving a tone to the new trade union, are striving to exploit the government's legal action for a provocative campaign against the state and the party organs.

However, the weekly ZA RUBEZHOM notes in its editorial that "The enemies of socialist Poland are aiming not only at Poland." "As the socialist community stands behind it (?Poland), to complicate the situation in this country means to harm the unity of the community and undermine its efforts on the world stage," the weekly writes. "The developments in Poland are not only its own internal affairs," ZA RUBEZHOM writes. Referring to the December summit meeting of the Warsaw Treaty leaders, the weekly adds that "the Polish workers can confidently count on their friends and alies."

Referring to a statement made by Polish Deputy Premier Rakowski, the Soviet press also reports that the demands put forward by the trade union Solidarity are in the nature of an ultimatum. The Soviet press also writes that Poland is "literally flooded with provocative leaflets expressing open threats to communists."

Special reporters of the army weekly KRASNAYA ZVEZDA write that these leaflets are spurting "bitter hatred of People's Poland and the popular rule." The press quotes one Polish officer as saying: "Each of us knows that if it comes to fighting the enemy we shall act together with our friends as successfully as our fathers and grandfathers did in the last war."

Reports On PZPR Session

LD301014 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0937 GMT 20 Mar 81

[Text] Warsaw, 30 Mar (TANJUG)--At the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) Central Committee session, which ended this morning, the Central Committee instructed the top party leadership to contact party organizations in the base immediately after the session. (The session adopted a decision constituting new support to the proclaimed line of social reconstruction in Poland, in conformity with the demands of the working class.)

The special session, which convened to consider the situation in the country, closed by expressing full confidence to the Politburo and to the Central Committee Secretariat.

The participants in the session adopted a proposal put forward by Edward Symanski, the secretary of the party organization in the Voivodship of Wloclavek, that "the resignations submitted by some comrades at the Central Committee session be withdrawn."

Observers here believe that Stanislaw Kania offered his resignation from the post of first secretary of the PUWP Central Committee. In the debate, however, the participants expressed full support to the line which Kania proclaimed 7 months ago, reiterating it in moments of crisis, and which he has consistently pursued ever since.

At the moment, it is not known who are the "comrades" who submitted or offered their resignations from the top party positions. In the debate, no one brought into question the posts of head of the party Stanislaw Kania and the premier, General of the Army and Minister of Defense Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Kania and Jaruzelski were given full support by Central Committee members and candidate members who took part in the debate.

BELGRADE RADIO ON U.S.-USSR EUROPEAN CONFRONTATION

AU291639 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 28 Mar 81

[Military Commentary by Stanislav Ocokoljic]

[Text] We begin our review of reports on world events with the regular military commentary: Europe Once Again at the Center of a Growing Tension in the Military Relations Between the Superpowers. Stanislav Ocokoljic speaks:

[Begin recording] It can be concluded on the basis of the specific military measures taken by the superpowers in the period from last fall until now that they are gradually shifting the focal point of increasing tension in their mutual relations. As a matter of fact, it is known that in the Middle East, that is, the center of military confrontation heretofore, they have been compelled to temporarily accept a newly created military relationship of forces that, even though in their estimate temporary and unstable, for a certain period does not provide either of them with any opportunities for a possible unilateral change in the established equilibrium. At the same time, they have continued to intensively arm themselves with new nuclear weapons in Europe.

According to Western estimates, the Soviet Union has already introduced into its armaments about 160 launchers for the well-known new medium-range nuclear missiles and continues this so-called replacement of weapons at a rate of 1 additional launcher per week. On its part the United States is intensifying and accelerating its preparations to implement the Atlantic pact's plan for deploying its, also new, 572 medium-range missiles in 1984. To be sure, during that entire period they offered each other proposals to open talks on the issue, but their starting positions were increasingly far removed from one another.

The Soviet Union continues to repeat its claim that its action is a simple replacement of old missiles with the new ones and that in this way alone it has succeeded in establishing an alleged real nuclear equilibrium; and it proposes a moratorium on that basis. The United States considers that to be a unilateral disruption of the formerly established nuclear equilibruim, pointing out that the mobility of their missiles provides the Soviets with a special advantage of maneuvering with those weapons in the entire area of Europe.

The real essence of the new steps in their rivalry is in the fact that the combat qualities of the new nuclear-missile weapons enable both superpowers to shift the nuclear threat to the European countries to a far greater extent than in the past and to expose them even more dangerously to the threat of a possible use of those weapons.

Following a brief winter calm, both sides recently began their military maneuvers and exercises with an intensity that is not usual for this period and with a new practice of extending them without announcing their conclusion. The fact is being once again confirmed that these maneuvers serve much less the real needs of training and much more the momentary needs of the superpowers to ensure cohesion within their own individual military blocs.

The American side reproaches the Soviet Union because it plans to extend its influence to central Africa via the Mediterranean, where the American naval presence has been temporarily weakened, and via Libya; whereas at the same time the Soviet side accuses the United States of demonstrating its extreme bellicosity by once again including Greece in the Atlantic pact's military organization and through Turkey's military regime. These direct mutual accusations seem to indicate that new military moves by both sides can be expected in the area of the Mediterranean and southern Europe.

Judging by all available evidence, Europe has once again become the focal point of an increasing military confrontation between the two superpowers, and it has become so this time with prospect for even more complicated consequences. For this reason the new initiative of the nonaligned and nonbloc countries at the Madrid CSCE meeting and their attempt to direct the pan-European relations to the roads proclaimed by the 1975 Helsinki CSCE meeting as soon as possible must be wholeheartedly supported. [end recording]

DJURANOVIC TO VISIT AUSTRIA IN EARLY APRIL

LD271409 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1348 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 27 (TANJUG)--Yugoslav Premier Veselin Djuranovic will make an official friendly visit to Austria in early April. Djuranovic will visit Austria at the invitation of Austrian Federal Chancellor Bruno Kreisky.

DJURANOVIC RECEIVES EEC OFFICIAL HERMAN DE LANGE

LD271752 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1625 GMT 27 Mar 81

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 27 Mar (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of Yugoslavia's Federal Executive Council, today received Herman de Lange, the newly appointed head of the delegation of the European Economic Community (EEC) Commission and had a talk of interest to both sides with him. The agreement on economic cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EEC was signed in Belgrade on 2 April last year. The general aim of this agreement is to strengthen, deepen and diversify relations between the two sides, while taking account of the level (?of differences) between their economies as well as mutual (?trade and complementation) of their economies.

BRIEFS

ZAGREB RADIO, TELEVISION--At its session on 18 March the Workers Council of the Zagreb Radio and Television Composite Organization of Associated Labor elected Branko Puharic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Croatia and the Presidium of the Croatian Republican SAWP conference, as general director of Zagreb Radio and Television. [Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 81 p 7 AU]